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TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE NORTHERN PARTS

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

IN

THE YEARS 1807 AND 1808.

BY EDWARD AUGUSTUS KENDALL, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

NEW-YORK:

Printed and published by I. Riley.

1809.

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PREFACE.

THAT part of the United States which comprehends what are variously called the Northern States and Eastern States, and which retains its ancient name of New England, is, in many particulars, distinguishable from the remainder. It differs, not only in its climate, soil, natural productions and agriculture, but in the history of its colonization, in the objects of many of its institutions, in its modes of thinking and manners of life, in its civil occupations, and, perhaps, in its political interests.

It is exclusively to this part that what follows has reference. In it are the seats of five republics, no longer dependent on Europe for population, but from which, on the contrary, emigrants have proceeded, in numbers, to people and to cultivate the western limits of the empire, and to enrich themselves by the commerce of the southern.

Travels, performed in the other parts of the country, would present views of a larger grasp

than are to be expected from travels in this; more extent and diversity of surface; more variety of customs and manners; more employment for the eye and for the imagination. They would embrace, also, that portion of the soil, to which those, who leave Europe, to find a new and permanent home in the United States, in almost all instances direct their course; and, not only this, but they would embrace the metropolis, and consequently the scene in which the composition and character of the general government can with most propriety be surveyed. At distant points, the foreign traveller has necessarily to fear, that the impressions which are made upon him, by local and provincial feelings and prejudices, may usurp, in his mind, that place which should be given only to such as are universal. It is one thing to behold the hill from the plain, and another to behold the plain from the hill.

Local subjects, however, are within the compass of local travels; and to those, in chief proportion, these pages are confined; or, where the subjects are general, it is their local bearings which are in question. If the northern parts of the United States cannot inspire that interest

which belongs to the southern, they can inspire an interest which is their own. Their natural and civil history, their actual condition and their future prospects are their own; and there are several aspects under which the acquaintance that we may make with them will reward the pains. The picture is beside more novel.

The intention of travel is the discovery of truth; but, multiplied as are the occasions of error, its failures cannot but be frequent. Hastily to adopt falsehood is a reproach to our understanding, and wilfully to propagate it is a reproach to our hearts; but, the mistakes, that amid our caution, we commit, are offences into which the best and wisest are betrayed, and which the wisest and best find it easy to forgive.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

CHAPTER I. Page

Connecticut—Election-day, 1

CHAPTER II.

Connecticut—Situation—Towns—Counties, 8

CHAPTER III.

Connecticut—Government, 20

CHAPTER IV.

Connecticut—Legislature, 25

CHAPTER V.

Connecticut—Mode of Election, 27

CHAPTER VI.

Connecticut—Elective Franchise, 44

CHAPTER VII. Page

Connecticut—Constitution of Government, 50

CHAPTER VIII.

Connecticut—Wethersfield—Middletown, 83

CHAPTER IX.

Connecticut—Haddam—East Haddam, 97

CHAPTER X.

Connecticut—Societies and Churches, 106

CHAPTER XI.

Connecticut—Berlin, 117

CHAPTER XII.

Connecticut—Hartford, 129

CHAPTER XIII.

Connecticut—Hartford Poetry, 145

CHAPTER XIV.

Connecticut—Theatrical Prohibition, 164

CHAPTER XV. Page

Connecticut—General Assembly—Courts of Justice, 169

CHAPTER XVI.

Connecticut—Trial by Jury, 182

CHAPTER XVII.

Connecticut—Taxation, 186

CHAPTER XVIII.

Connecticut—Taxes and Public Expenditure, 192

CHAPTER XIX.

Connecticut—Statistical and Historical Notes, 194

CHAPTER XX.

Connecticut—Windsor, 202

CHAPTER XXI.

Connecticut—Newgate Prison, 206

CHAPTER XXII. Page

Connecticut—Canton—Canaan—Hartland Colebrook—Norfolk, 219

CHAPTER XXIII.

Connecticut—Canaan—Salisbury—Sharon, 227

CHAPTER XXIV.

Connecticut—Goshen—Litchfield, 235

CHAPTER XXV.

Connecticut—Kent—Inscriptions, 241

CHAPTER XXVI.

Connecticut—Woodbridge—Newhaven, 247

CHAPTER XXVII.

Connecticut—Yale College, 258

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Connecticut—Schools, 265

CHAPTER XXIX.

Page

Connecticut—Ancient Government of Newhaven, 275

CHAPTER XXX.

Connecticut—Newhaven Blue-laws, 283

CHAPTER XXXI.

Connecticut—New London, 290

CHAPTER XXXII.

Connecticut—Montville—Moheagan Lands—Norwich—Lebanon, 300

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Connecticut—Windham—Willington, 314

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Connecticut—Stafford Springs—Pomfret, 324

ERRATA.

VOLUME I.

Page 2, l. 4, *for* one, *read* on.
5, l. 19, *after* by, *r.* the.
14, *note*, line 11, *for* need, *r.* needs.
118, l. 19, *for* was, *r.* were.
134, l. 6, *dele* which.
135, *dele* the first note.
161, l. 11, *for* enforce, *r.* expose.
182, l. 5, *for* constitution, *r.* institution.
292, l. 27, *for* Mameag, *r.* Nameag.
300, l. 13, *dele* to.
301, l. 13, 21, for sixty-nine, *r.* seventy-eight.

VOLUME II.

26, l. 7, *for* falnis, *r.* fabrics.
10, *after* in, *r.* the.
47, l. 11, *for* had, *r.* have.
12, *before* there, *r.* of which.
78, l. 20, note, *after* of, *r.* the.
104, l. 21, *before* more, *r.* not.
107, l. 16, *for* burst, *r.* bursts.
112, l. 23, *for* unworthiness, *r.* worthiness.
116, l. 22, *for* to, *r.* with.
189, l. 29, *after* of, *dele* the.
198, l. 23, 26, *for* poke. *r.* yoke.
216, l. 28, *for* reduced, *r.* induced.
222, l. 18, *dele* cut.

VOLUME III.

5, l. 18, for *democrats*, r. *democrates*.
16, l. 9, *after* latter, *read* in.
30, l. 10, *for* wood, *r.* road.
37, l. 15, *after* of, *r.* the.
83, l. 6, *for* in districts, *r.* by distress.
119, l. 26, *after* pardonable, *r.* or.
128, l. 21, *for* academy's, *r.* academic.
167, l. 13, *for* increased, *r.* exercised.
175, l. 27, *for* nearer, *r.* near.
217, l. 2, *after* add, *dele* a.
in the table, *for* 452, *r.* 254.
299, l. 20, *after* disposed, *r.* of.
301, l. 16, *for* and a burgh, *r.* of Alburgh.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

PART OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Connecticut—Election-day.

IN the spring of the year 1807, I visited those districts of the United States which lie eastward of Hudson's river, and which include the territories of five states; Connecticut, Rhode-Island and Massachusetts, New-Hampshire and Vermont.

An object of immediate attraction was the great festival of Connecticut, called the Day of General Election, and popularly the Election-day, held annually in the city of Hartford, on the second Thursday in May. Having remained in New-York till the tenth of the same month, I proceeded, on commencing my journey, di-

rect to Hartford. The distance, by land, is a little more than a hundred and twenty miles.

The election-day is at present that one which, at the meeting of the general assembly, the written votes of the freemen, for a governor, lieutenant-governor, and other officers appointed to be chosen, are counted, the result declared, and the persons elected sworn to perform the duties of their respective offices.

I reached Hartford at noon, on Wednesday the nineteenth of May. The city is on the west bank of the Connecticut, forty-five miles above its mouth. The governor, whose family residence is on the east side of the river, at some distance from Hartford, was expected to arrive in the evening. This gentleman, whose name is Jonathan Trumbull, is the son of the late Governor Jonathan Trumbull; and though the election is annual, he has himself been three or four years in office, and will almost certainly so continue during the remainder of his life. It was known that the votes were at this time in his favour.

The governor has volunteer companies of guards, both horse and foot. In the afternoon, the horse were drawn up on the banks of the river, to receive him, and escort him to his lodgings. He came before sunset; and the fineness of the evening, the beauty of the river, the respectable

appearance of the governor and of the troop, the dignity of the occasion, and the decorum observed, united to gratify the spectator. The colour of the clothes of the troop was blue. The governor, though on horseback, was dressed in black ; but he wore a cockade, in a hat which I did not like the less, because it was in its form rather of the old school than of the new.

In the morning, the foot-guards were paraded in front of the state-house, where they afterward remained under arms, while the troop of horse occupied the street which is on the south side of the building. The clothing of the foot was scarlet, with white waistcoats and pantaloons ; and their appearance and demeanour were military.

The day was fine ; and the apartments and galleries of the state-house afforded an agreeable place of meeting, in which the members of the assembly and others awaited the coming of the governor.

At about eleven o'clock, his excellency entered the state-house, and shortly after took his place at the head of a procession, which was made to a meeting-house or church, at something less than half a mile distance. The procession was on foot ; and was composed of the person of the governor, together with the lieutenant-governor, assistants, high-sheriffs, mem-

bers of the lower house of assembly, and, unless with accidental exceptions, all the clergy of the state. It was preceded by the foot-guards, and followed by the horse; and attended by gazers, that considering the size and population of the city, may be said to have been numerous.

The church, which from its situation, is called the South Meeting-house, is a small one, and was resorted to, on this occasion, only because that more ordinarily used was at the time rebuilding. The edifice is of wood, alike unornamented, within and without; and when filled, there was still presented to the eye nothing but what had the plainest appearance. The military remained in the street, with the exception of a few officers, to whom no place of honour or distinction was assigned; neither the governor nor other magistrates were accompanied with any insignia of office; the clergy had no canonical costume; and there were no females in the church, except a few (rather more than twenty in number) who were stationed by themselves, in a gallery, opposite the pulpit, in quality of singers. A decent order was the highest characteristic that presented itself.

The pulpit, or, as it is here called, the *desk*, was filled by three, if not four clergymen; a number which, by its form and dimensions, it was able to accommodate. Of these, one

opened the service with a prayer ; another delivered a sermon ; a third made a concluding prayer, and a fourth pronounced a benediction. Several hymns were sung ; and, among others, an occasional one. The total number of singers was between forty and fifty.

The sermon, as will be supposed, touched upon matters of government. When all was finished, the procession returned to the state-house. The clergy, who walked, were about a hundred in number.

It was in the two bodies of guards alone, that any suitable approach to magnificence discovered itself. The governor was full-dressed, in a suit of black ; but the lieutenant-governor wore riding-boots. All, however, was consistently plain, and in unison with itself, except the dress-swords, which were worn by high-sheriffs, along with their village habiliments ; and of which the fashion and the materials were marvellously diversified.

Arrived in front of the state-house, the military formed on each side of the street ; and, as the governor passed them, presented arms. The several parts of the procession now separated ; each retiring to a dinner prepared for itself, at an adjoining inn ; the governor, lieutenant-governor, and assistants to their table ; the clergy to a second ; and the representatives

to a third. The time of day was about two in the afternoon.

Only a short time elapsed, before business was resumed ; or, rather, at length commenced. The general assembly met in the council-room ; and the written votes being examined and counted, the names of the public officers elected were formally declared. They were in every instance the same as those which had been successful the preceding year, and for several years before.

This done, the lieutenant-governor administered the oath to the governor-elect, who, being sworn, proceeded to administer their respective oaths to the lieutenant-governor and the rest ; and here terminated the affairs of the election-day. Soon after six o'clock, the military fired three *feux de joies*, and were then dismissed.

On the evening following that of the election-day, there is an annual ball at Hartford, called the Election Ball ; and on the succeeding Monday a second, which is more select. The election-day is a holiday throughout the state ; and even the whole remainder of the week is regarded in a similar light. Servants and others are now in some measure indemnified for the loss of the festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, which the principles of their church

deny them. Families exchange visits, and treat their guests with slices of *election-cake;* and thus preserve some portion of the luxuries of the forgotten feast of the Epiphany.

The whole day, like the morning, and like the evening which preceded it, was fine. In Hartford, the degree of bustle was sufficient to give an air of importance to the scene; a scene, that taken altogether, was not unfitted to leave on the mind a pleasing and respectful impression.

The following are the words of the occasional hymn, which, as I have said, was sung:

HAIL happy land! hail happy state!
Whose freeborn sons in safety meet,
To bless the Lord Most High!
With one consent, now let us raise
The thankful tribute of our praise
To Him who rules the sky!

The mercies he to us hath shown,
The wonders he for us hath done,
His sovereign hand proclaim;
Come, and with grateful hearts adore
The God who saves us by his power,
And bless aloud his name!

Come, let us kneel before his face,
Devoutly supplicate his grace,
And his high aid implore;
That He our nation, state, and land,
May save by his Almighty Hand,
Till time shall be no more!

CHAPTER II.

Connecticut—Situation—Towns—Counties.

CONNECTICUT is a maritime country, lying in the forty-second degree of north-latitude, along the margin of Long-Island Sound. In a direct line, it has coast of a hundred miles in length; but its actual sea-board is rendered much more considerable, by the incurvatures of small bays and inlets. On the east, it is bounded by the territory of Rhode-Island; on the west, by that of New-York; and on the north, by that of Massachusetts. From north to south, that is, from the frontier of Massachusetts to the coast, it is nowhere more than seventy-two miles in breadth, and for the most part much less. It is said to contain a surface of four thousand six hundred and seventy-four square miles, and a population of nearly two hundred and sixty thousand souls, or more than fifty souls to each square mile.

The country is divided into almost two equal parts, by the river from which it derives both its name and a great part of its resources. This river rises in Lower Canada; and, after a course

of more than three hundred miles, of which the general direction is south, enters Connecticut at about seventy miles before it reaches the sea. It is navigable, for vessels of burden, only to Hartford.

The exports of Connecticut are carried to the West India Islands either directly from her own ports, or by reshipment from Boston or New York. They consist chiefly in grain and other provisions, and in horses and live cattle.

This territory is parcelled into counties, and the counties into towns. The towns are the most ancient and most important of these divisions.

There is no statute or other public instrument, in Connecticut, providing for the establishment of *towns*, defining the nature of their institution, or the materials of which they are composed. Their origin may therefore be said to be prescriptive. The very earliest laws are content with recognising their existence, and granting, or securing, their immunities.

Among their founders, the word *town* seems to have been synonymous with *settlement*. In Europe, we speak of *settlements*, either in a more general sense than *colonies*, or as included within *colonies*. The French call them *habitations*. These terms agree entirely with the

towns of New England. Every new *settlement* was called a new *town*. In making a settlement, certain limits were assigned, or assumed; and the limits of the *settlement* were said to be the limits of the *town*. The town-proper was of course the collection of dwellings; but, in the vulgar acceptation, the same word embraced the entire district or township, and use has given a local sanction to this meaning.

The word *town*, appears to be a corruption of the Saxon *duno*, from which we obtain *den*, *dun*, *don*, and *down*, and the French, *dunes*, *hills*, or *heights*. In all countries, whether in Europe or America, where petty nations have lived in the constant fear of enemies, their dwellings have been seated upon *hills*, as situations the best adapted for defence. Adding artificial means of security to the means they thus borrowed from nature, they have surrounded those dwellings, according to their manner or their ability, with walls or with a stockade. But, whether fortified by nature, or by art, these *places of dwelling* were essentially *places of strength—places that were fortified*. Hence, *a hill*, and hence *a town*, was synonymous with a *fortified place*. Hence, a *fortified place*, wherever situated, was called a *town*. But, seas and rivers have in all ages invited men to their respective banks and shores, in pursuit, either of daily subsistence, or of the

wealth, to be derived from commerce. But the shores are often flat, and even marshy; and yet *towns*, that is, *hills* or *strong places*, have been built in such situations. It was incident to every collection of dwellings, to be fortified, to be made strong; and therefore it was said to be a *hill* or *town*. But the dwellings were fortified by being enclosed; hence the Saxon *tun;* and *tun*, from *tinan*, signifying *shut* or *enclosed;* and hence the primitive acceptation in English, a *walled collection of houses.*

But, the consolidation of empires, and consequent progress of civilization, in Europe, has relieved many regions from the necessity of surrounding their collections of houses with walls. Walls have been razed from around many collections of houses where they were formerly necessary; and many such collections have been built, where no such precaution has ever been resorted to. Still, those collections, which were formerly walled, have retained their former appellations; and still those which are distinguished by any other particular, formerly incident to *towns*, are so denominated.

But, it was in an express manner incident to *towns*, that the collection of houses, of which they were composed, should be built within the smallest convenient compass. Hence, in *towns*, the buildings for the most part joined

each other; and hence a *collection of houses, joining, or nearly joining each other*, is the first requisite in the definition of *town*, though the word be taken in the loosest sense that is admissible in Europe.

In New England, however, a *town* is very commonly described as containing two or three *villages;* and these are frequently separated from each other by two or three lakes, and two or three tracts of forest.—Thus, we began with the primitive signification of the word, and have now reached what is probably at present the furthest remove. In Virginia, the settlers never used this term; or at least Sir Walter Raleigh avoids it, when he tells us, that "they had built "houses, planted gardens, erected *townships*, "and made provision for their posterity."*

* By some, *town* is regarded as a contraction of *township;* but I consider it as the original term. For the rest, it is but by a few readers that I can hope to be pardoned this digression; and such will not perhaps be displeased at seeing it extended a little further.

Towns that are incorporated are now called *boroughs;* but towns were fortified at an earlier date than they were incorporated, and fortification was more essential than incorporation. *Borough* is certainly the same with *berg*, *burg*, and *burgh*, and the ancient signification of these is *a fortified eminence:* The *burg* and *byrig* of the Saxons is the same with the Πύργος or *tower* of the Greeks, and the *bro* and *bar* of the Celts. But, *bro* and *bar* are the same

A *town*, then, in Connecticut, and the other parts of New England, is first a district, or geographical subdivision, in which sense is the

with *baris*, a Greek word, signifying a stone tower or citadel, whence *baris* and *birah*, among the Orientals, a royal citadel, castle, or palace; and of *baris*, the primitive signification appears to be *a mountain*.

A fortress which adjoined the temple in Jerusalem was called *baris*, or the citadel. This word is said, by a learned writer, to have been used by the Jews, only of a *stone tower*, or fortification; but, the authority which he cites, affords a larger signification, and one in which there is a remarkable agreement of expression with what is said above, of the origin of the word *town*: BAPIΣ *verbum* Ἐπιχώριον *Palestinæ, usque hodie domus ex omni parte conclusæ, et in modum ædificatæ turrium, ac mœnium publicorum* βάρεις *appellantur*. HIERONYM. EPIST. CRIT. DE NOM. HEBR. *Baris* is here used to imply, first, an enclosed or fortified residence, of which, in antiquity, the usual form was that of a tower; and, secondly, the walls of a fortified place.

But, with the Greeks, the signification was still larger, and *baris* was taken, not only for a tower or any great edifice, but also for a *ship*. That the same word which may be translated *ship*, should primarily signify *a mountain*, may at a first view be little probable; and the writer alluded to appears to consider a *tower* or *fortification* as the primary sense of *baris*, whence it would follow that *baris* could signify a fortified *eminence*, not because it is an *eminence*, but only because it is *fortified*; and this admitted, he would derive *baris* a ship, from *baris* a stone tower, because the ark or *ship* of Noah rested on a mountain, and because there

phrase, "the inhabitants of *towns*;" secondly, it is a body politic and corporate.

is, in Imaus, a mountain, called by Ptolemy, Λίθινος Πύργος, the *Stone Tower*. Now, a stone tower is rendered by *baris*, and the mountain on which the ark rested is called by Josephus, after Nicolas Damascenus, "Baris, near "Minyas, in Armenia."

There is certainly here some show of evidence; and yet I cannot but think it preferable to derive *baris* a ship, from *baris* a tower or castle; this from *baris* a fortified eminence; and *baris* a fortified eminence from *baris* a mountain. How familiarly, and with what propriety, ships are denominated *castles*, need not to be pointed out.

Of Mount Baris, in Armenia, the writer remarks, that, "no geographer mentions such a mountain, in his "description of that country;" and this circumstance he appears to consider as supporting his conjecture, that the ark actually rested on the mountain called by Ptolemy the Stone Tower, Λίθινος Πύργος being a periphrasis or interpretation of Βαρις. That a mountain came to be called the Stone Tower, he supposes to have happened from its figure; and in this we may entirely agree with him, without ceasing, however, to believe, that a stone tower was called *baris*, from *baris* a mountain; that is, that *baris*, the noun proper, may have had its derivation from *baris*, the noun common.

From the fact, that no geographer mentions Mount Baris, a conclusion, very different from that given above, may, with equal force of argument be deduced; for we shall be guilty of no violence, if we suppose that the *Baris* of Josephus, is a common and not a proper name or noun; *a mountain*, any mountain, or perhaps, *a high mountain*; and not a particular mountain, called, for whatever

As to its geographical extent, a town usually comprehends thirty-six square miles; but some towns are within these dimensions, and many much exceed them. The boundaries are usually determined, or in the technical phrase, the *lines run*, by a land-surveyor. Natural boundaries, such as small rivers, brooks or mountains, are rarely admitted. As population increases in the towns, as interests separate, as feuds arise, or as intrigues are to be managed, their territories experience frequent subdivisions, under the authority of acts of the general assembly. Sometimes, one town is severed into two; and sometimes a new one is formed in the heart of several others, uniting in

reason, the Stone Tower. "All accounts of the great de- "luge," says the writer, "agree in this, that the ark or "ship landed on a high mountain;" to which accounts, the authority, misunderstood by Josephus, or by Nicolas Damascenus, or by writers earlier than either, may only entitle us to add, that the high mountain (*baris*) was situate "near Minyas, in Armenia." See *Some Inquiries concerning the First Inhabitants, Language, Religion, Learning and Letters of Europe. Oxford*, 1758.

Further, and in confirmation of what has been advanced, as well in this note as in the text, may be noticed the acknowledged agreement in signification, of the Saxon *duno* with the Greek δυνος. Δυνος is said to be from βυνος; and βυνος appears to lead us to βυρος, βαρις, *bar*, *bro*, *borough*, &c.

itself parts of each. The present number of towns is one hundred and seventeen.

The modern towns (I mean the incorporations) may be said to be erected by the general assembly; but the more ancient ones appear to have been erected by those who composed them. A part, at least, of their immunities on the Connecticut, were acknowledged in 1636, in the commission issued by Massachusetts, to which colony they were then subject; and were declared, and perhaps extended, by statute, in 1639.

1. The towns, in town-meeting, elect their own town-officers, and may recover a fine on refusal to serve;* but, "any one assistant, or justice," may set aside the election, at his discretion, on the appeal of the party elected.

2. The towns have power to make such orders, rules and constitutions, as concern their own welfare, provided that these orders, rules or constitutions, are "not of a criminal, but "only of a *prudential* nature;" that they be not repugnant to the laws and orders of the state; and that no penalty, inflicted for any one act of non-observance, exceed the sum of three dollars and thirty-four cents.

* Of the amount of five dollars.

3. Towns may make by-laws, for restraining horses, cattle, &c. provided they impose no penalty exceeding the amount of three dollars; and no such law is to be in force till it shall have been published for four weeks successively in the newspaper which is printed in or nearest to the town.

4. Precincts or peculiars are in some cases ordered to be rated at or in certain towns, and in such cases are rated and governed by the town.

5. Towns have authority to discriminate between the inhabitants that they will admit, and the inhabitants that they will not. Hence, there is a distinction between *settled*, *approved* and *lawful inhabitants*, and the contrary. Those strangers whom they disapprove they may *warn* to quit the town, and in case of need, compel. The origin of this right will be more distinctly seen hereafter. Over the natural and lawful inhabitants they exercise many powers.

6. What may be considered as among the highest prerogatives of the towns, it is in their hands to grant and withhold the freedom of the state, even to and from natural-born subjects.

7. But, it is chiefly on account of their share in the public councils that I have entered thus early into the political history of the *towns*. It

will be seen, that they could by no means be omitted in the preliminary view, which I have proposed to myself to take, of the government and the legislature, and of the elections.

Each town is represented in the general assembly, by two or at least one representative. The old towns may in any case send two or one at their option ; but some of the new towns are restricted to one, unless in cases where their *lists* respectively "amount to sixty thousand dollars, "without fraud."

"Justices of the peace," says a native lawyer, "are considered as the *civil authority* of the "town in which they dwell, and have exten- "sive power in directing and advising about the "management of the affairs of the town."* Another writer, combining with this account the circumstance that justices of the peace are appointed by the general assembly, infers, that the extensive power, here described as invested, is an expedient for maintaining the general order of the state.† In the provisions of the statutes I cannot discern this power. The phrase *civil authority* is obviously loose and popular; for the selectmen compose the real civil authority.

*Swift's System of the Laws of the State of Connecticut, 1795.

† A Specimen of Republican Institutions, Philadelphia, 1802.

In the statutes, it is found, along with many other loose and popular phrases, in the sense of justices of the peace; but, the editors of the late edition have refused to it a place in their index. The justices of the peace, as *lawful* and even principal inhabitants, have unquestionably much power and influence; and the statutes occasionally join them with the selectmen, in the exercise of magisterial duties. This appears to me to be the whole.

II. It has been said above, that the counties are divided into towns; but, there may be more propriety in the expression, that the towns are united into counties. The towns were in existence before the counties, of which latter the first establishment was in the year 1665. After that period there were four, and there are now eight. This number was completed in 1785.

The counties send no representatives to the assembly, but are shires or circuits for the administration of justice; and can be represented as communities only as they respectively possess a magistracy, competent, under certain limitations, to hear and determine pleas, civil, criminal and equitable; and also, for county-purposes, to levy county-taxes. Each county has a sheriff, with the fullest powers.

CHAPTER III.

Connecticut—Government.

THE government of Connecticut is a democracy, of a peculiar form and structure.

"The supreme power and authority of the "state," says the assembly itself, "consists in the "general assembly." The general assembly is composed of two houses or chambers, of which the lower is filled by the representatives or deputies of the towns, and the upper by the governor, lieutenant-governor and assistants.

The supreme power and authority is therefore in the hands of a council of two hundred; for of about this number of persons is the entire assembly composed. To each division, however, belongs, in some instances, peculiar functions; and of these a small proportion falls to the lot of the governor.

1. The governor is by statute president of the upper house of assembly; but he has no voice in its decisions, unless the votes happen to be equally divided.

2. Upon fourteen days' warning or less, he may convene the general assembly at unusual times, and at unusual places, within the state,

as he shall judge proper; but he can in no case prorogue or adjourn it against its consent.

3. He may reprieve a condemned malefactor, till the next meeting of the general assembly; but he can grant no pardon.

4. He is *ex officio* a justice of the peace throughout the state.

5. He is captain-general and commander in chief of the militia of the state; but he commissions only, and not appoints the inferior officers.

6. He is superintendant of marine; and all marine papers, under the authority of the state, issue in his name.

7. From the year 1793, to the present, the governor has had a further duty to perform, that of sitting, twice in each year, as president of the court of errors; but, an act, passed in the last year, relieves him from this duty for the future.

8. By and with the advice of the council, he may prohibit the carriage, by land or water, of any article or thing, out of the state.

The lieutenant-governor is also lieutenant-general of the militia for the governor. He acts in his absence, and in his presence has a voice in the council, along with the assistants.

II. Other powers are incident to the governor and council, in their joint capacity; insomuch that this body may be regarded as a second branch

of government. It alone can authorise the reading of briefs; it appoints the quarter-master-general, and the eight high sheriffs.

III. The council is composed of the governor, lieutenant-governor and *assistants*. The assistants are twelve in number, and their office is scarcely less considerable than that of the governor.

1. In conjunction with the governor and lieutenant-governor, they constitute one estate or branch of the legislature, and can decide all legislative questions which come before them, even against the will, advice or consent of the governor.

2. They are *ex officio* justices of the peace throughout the state.

3. Any three assistants may execute a power similar to that granted to the governor, of reprieving a condemned malefactor till the next general assembly.

4. An assistant may supply the place of an absent judge of the superior court.—At the first settlement of Connecticut, and for many years after, almost every magisterial duty was assigned indiscriminately to the assistants. By the older laws, an assistant was allowed the singular privilege, of forbidding the entrance of more persons than he judged convenient, into the same ferry-boat with himself.

IV. The fourth branch of government is the general assembly, from which, indeed, all other authority proceeds, and by which, at any moment, it may be reclaimed. Nothing exists but at its pleasure. It makes laws, and it repeals them; and in the laws is the sole foundation of the political fabric: the constitution of government is to be found only in the statutes. In a word, the general assembly is truly the single depository of power; of power at once governmental, legislative and judiciary; at once civil, military and ecclesiastical.

1. The general assembly is the sole legislative authority.

2. It grants levies.

3. It disposes of lands undisposed of, to towns or to particular persons.

4. It erects courts of justice, and appoints judges and other officers as it sees necessary.

5. It censures, punishes and removes at its pleasure, all those officers and judges; and all magistrates whom it accuses of any misdemeanour or malversation.

6. It acts in particular cases as a court of equity, staying the proceedings of courts of law, and even exempting by particular acts particular individuals from civil process; the right to do all which is, among others, reserved to it in the words, " and also may deal and act in any

" other matter that concerns the good of this " state."

7. It, and it only, has power to grant pardons, suspensions, and gaol-delivery upon reprieve, to any person or persons that have been sentenced in any court of the state whatever.

8. It cannot be dissolved, nor prorogued, but with the consent of a majority of its members.

9. It imposes fines upon such of its members as reveal what it orders to be kept secret, " or " shall make known to any person what any one " member of the court speaks concerning any " person or business that may come in agitation " in the court."*

10. It is of minor importance that the members of the general assembly are privileged against arrest in civil suits, after the model of the privilege of parliament in England; and that a seat is vacated by a member's appearing at the bar of the assembly, as an attorney, to conduct a suit at law, unless in behalf of the town which he represents, or in cases where either himself or his kindred are personally interested.

* Though this latter clause is made applicable to all the members of the general court, it is perhaps intended only for the government of the upper house, of which the doors are always closed. From a note in the Statutes of Connecticut, it appears to have been enacted in 1639, and copied nearly verbatim, at the revision in 1702.

CHAPTER IV.

Connecticut—Legislature.

FROM what has appeared in the preceding chapter, the reader is prepared to behold the same object, the general assembly, again presented to his view: "In which general assembly "shall consist the supreme power and authority "of this state; and they only shall have power to "make laws, and to repeal them."

Every statute of Connecticut is described as being "enacted by the governor, council, and "house of representatives, in general *court* as-"sembled;" but the words *court* and *assembly* are used indifferently, and almost alternately, in the place of each other: thus where a marginal note promises a view of all the powers "of the gene-"ral *assembly*," the text mentions only the general *court*. The origin of this confusion of terms will appear hereafter; as also of the name of *court of election*, now apparently obsolete. The language in which the legislative powers of the assembly are expressed, has scarcely been varied from the beginning: "In which general "court shall consist the supreme power and

" authority of this state; and they only shall
" have power to make laws and repeal them;
" to grant levies; to dispose of lands undis-
" posed of to towns or particular persons;
" and also to institute and style judicatories and
" officers, as they shall see necessary for the good
" government of this state. Also, to call any
" court or magistrate, or any other officer or
" person whatever, to an account for any misde-
" meanor or male administration; and for just
" cause may fine, displace or remove them;
" or deal otherwise, as the nature of the cause
" shall require; and also may deal and act in
" any other matter that concerns the good of
" this state, except the election of governor,
" lieutenant-governor, assistants or counsellors;
" which shall be done by the votes of the free-
" men, at the yearly court of election."

CHAPTER V.

Connecticut—Mode of Election.

EVERY public trust and office in Connecticut is elective. Selectmen and others are elected by their towns; schoolmasters and mistresses by the same; ministers of churches by the *churches;* the inferior officers of militia by the privates, and the superior by the assembly; the judges of all the courts by the assembly; the electors of the president and vice-president of the United States by the same; the lower house of assembly by the towns separately; and the upper, together with the representatives of the state in congress, by the towns collectively. No office within the state is held for more than a year; and the deputies of the towns are elected for only one session of the assembly. There are two sessions of the assembly in each year; and consequently as many elections of deputies.

The deputies are now frequently denominated representatives. They were anciently called committee-men; each town being said to send a committee or deputation to the legislature.

At present, *representative* appears to be the term in favour; while *deputy* holds in some degree its ground, through prior title.

The deputies or representatives, for the session which is held in October, are chosen on the third Monday of September next preceding; and those for the session in May, on the first Tuesday in April preceding. They are always chosen in town-meeting, "held at nine o'clock "in the morning, at some convenient place, "where the meetings have usually been held."

Respecting the election of representatives in the assembly, the statutes afford few rules, except the foregoing, and that of the governor is surrounded with but few forms; but the election of assistants, and of representatives in congress, has been the object of extraordinary legislative care, and is conducted on a system in many respects remarkable. Amid that bitterness of party which prevails in Connecticut, this system, at least with one side, is a constant theme of exultation. The wisdom of the design, and the real blessings of which it is the parent, are insisted upon with equal warmth.

That we may duly appreciate these pretensions, it will be proper to examine them with care; an examination, the pains of which we shall not regret, when we afterward listen to the loud encomiums they excite.

1. The constables in the several towns are required to summon, or as it is said, to "*warn* "all the freemen in their respective towns to "meet together yearly, on the third Monday of "September, at nine of the clock in the morn- "ing, at some convenient place, where their "meetings have usually been held, when and "where they shall first choose deputies or re- "presentatives to attend the general court in "October, then next ensuing; and then every "freeman, in each town, there present, shall give "in his vote or suffrage for twenty persons, "their names being fairly written on a piece of "paper, whom he judgeth qualified to stand in "nomination for election in the month of May "next following: which votes or suffrages shall "be delivered to an assistant, or justice of the "peace, (if any be present,) otherwise to such "constable as shall inhabit in the town where "such votes are given in; which assistant, jus- "tice, or constable, shall make entry of the "names of all such persons as the freemen do "vote for, with the number of votes that each "person hath; a copy whereof the said assist- "ant, justice, or constable, in each town, shall "send sealed up, to the general assembly in Oc- "tober next following, by the deputy or repre- "sentatives of such town.

" At which assembly, all the votes of the free-
" men of this state shall be compared, and those
" twenty persons who shall have the greatest
" number of votes shall be the persons whose
" names shall be returned to the several towns
" to be the persons nominated to stand for elec-
" tion in May next following; out of which
" number the twelve assistants shall be chosen.
" But, the freemen shall have liberty to choose
" the governor and lieutenant-governor, where
" they see cause, of all or any freemen within
" this state."

2. " The secretary of the state, for the time
" being, shall, with the acts and orders of the
" general court in October, yearly, send a copy
" of the names of all those persons who are no-
" minated as aforesaid, to stand for election as
" aforesaid, to the printer, in order that the said
" persons' names may, with the said acts, be dis-
" tributed to the several towns in this state.

3. " And the several constables in the respec-
" tive towns throughout this state, without fur-
" ther order, on the penalty aforesaid, shall, by
" themselves or some deputed by them, warn all
" the freemen in their respective towns to con-
" vene at the place where such meetings are
" usually held, on the Monday next following
" the first Tuesday in April annually, at nine of
" the clock in the morning; when and where

" they shall first choose deputies to attend the " general court in May next following; where " also shall be read to them the freemen's oath, " the three last paragraphs of this act,* and the " names of those persons nominated to stand for " election: and then the freemen shall proceed " to bring in to the civil authority, (or if none " be present, to the constable or constables pre- " sent,) the name of him whom they would have " for governor for the year ensuing, fairly written " upon a piece of paper, which the said authori- " ty, or constable or constables, shall receive, " and in the presence of the freemen, seal up " the same in a piece of paper, and write on the " outside of the paper so sealed, the name of the " town, and then add these words, *viz. Votes* " *for the governor.* In like manner they shall " proceed in bringing in, sealing up, and wri- " ting upon their votes for the lieutenant-go- " vernor, treasurer and secretary. But, before " the treasurer and secretary are voted for, the " freemen shall bring in their votes for those " nominated to stand for election, beginning " with him that stands first in the nomination,

* These relate to bribery and *undue influence*, which latter crime is defined, by another statute, as consisting in the *gratuitous distribution of spirituous liquors.* Title LV. Chap. iii. By *paragraphs* is intended *sections* or *clauses.*

" and bring in their votes for him; which, by " the said authority, or constable or constables, " shall be received, sealed up, and written upon " as aforesaid, inserting the name of the person " voted for; and so they shall proceed till " they have passed through the whole nomina- " tion. But, no one freeman shall vote for more " than twelve of the number in nomination to be " assistants. And the votes for election of as- " sistants shall be a written piece of paper; and " no unwritten piece of paper shall be given in."

4. The written votes or ballots, which, through a mistake or else abuse of terms, the statutes occasionally call *proxies*, are then sent to Hartford, in the care of one of the representatives, who delivers them to the secretary of state. The secretary of state transfers them to the committee of the general assembly, by which they are appointed to be counted.*

5. There is a fifth particular, dependent rather on usage than on law, for an exposition of which we must apply to a private pen. It appears, that at the general assembly in October, where a list is made of twenty persons to *stand in nomination*, special regard is had to the manner of framing the list: " In arranging the twenty

* See Statutes of Connecticut, Hartford, 1808. Title LV.

" names, those persons who have previously be-
" longed to the council are placed according to
" their official age, without any regard to the
" number of votes which each individual may
" have ; the others, who have never been mem-
" bers of the council, are placed according to
" the number of their votes. The nomination,
" thus made out, is forwarded to the various
" towns. At the freemen's meeting in April,
" after the choice of representatives to the legis-
" lature, and after the votes are given in for the
" governor, the presiding magistrate calls for
" the votes for the assistants. The mode is,
" first, to call upon the freemen for their votes
" for the first man in the nomination, and then to
" take them in their order. Each freeman has
" a right to vote for twelve out of the twenty.
" The mode of voting almost certainly secures
" the election of the first twelve."*—Of these in-
stitutions there are warm admirers. " The mode
" of appointing the governor, and lieutenant-
" governor, by annual suffrage, has already,"
says one of these, " been mentioned. In this

*An Oration delivered at Newhaven, on the 7th of July, A. D. 1801, before the Society of the Cincinnati for the State of Connecticut, assembled to celebrate the Anniversary of American Independence. By Theodore Dwight. Hartford, 1801.

" there is nothing which promises the requisite " portion of legislative stability.

" Such stability, therefore, must be an object " of high consequence, as it respects the twelve " members called assistants. Yet these are all " *elected annually*, by general suffrage. This, if " viewed superficially, may seem so irrecon- " cilable with senatorial stability, as to excite a " momentary doubt respecting the peculiar " steadiness which has been said to distinguish " the state. At the same time, the existence of " such steadiness is a historical fact, established " by unquestionable testimony. What then is " the true solution of this political paradox ?

" According to known principles of human " action, the fact of peculiar steadiness may be " pronounced impossible, unless there be some " peculiarity in the electing of these twelve " members of the senatorial council. It is with " reference to this that we are informed, ' The " ' mode is calculated to prevent any change by " ' the influence of sudden whim or caprice.' " What mode, however, can assure this result " amidst annual elections ? In the process there " are several things to be observed.

" The first is a legal *nomination* of candidates. " At the electoral meetings, annually holden in " September, each of the enrolled electors may " ' give his suffrage for *twenty persons*, whom

" ' he judgeth qualified to stand in nomination
" ' for election.' The presiding authority, in
" each town, makes ' entry of the names of the
" ' persons voted for, with the number of votes ;'
" and is to send an authentic statement of them,
" ' sealed up, to the general assembly in Octo-
" ' ber next following.' The respective votes
" are then to be examined; and ' the twenty
" ' persons who have the greatest number of
" ' votes, shall be the persons in nomination.'
" Under the direction of the general assembly,
" the names are seasonably made known, in
" proper form, to the various towns throughout
" the state. And it is from this list of candi-
" dates that the choice is ultimately to be
" made.

" Such a procedure, doubtless, tends to con-
" centrate opinions as to the proper objects of
" suffrage. In giving range, too, for the selec-
" tion of character, it favours the principle of
" inviting, into the senatorial council, such per-
" sons as are distinguished by the solidity of
" moral qualities.

" It is equally obvious, that each of the per-
" sons who may be elected, must have been an
" object of public attention for a considerable
" period. This is important, as having a ten-
" dency to exclude intriguers from the senatorial
" dignity.

" You observe how this part of the system is " adapted for introducing none but men of dis- " tinguished worth into the senatorial body; yet, " we must agree, it does not appear adequate to " assure another object of no inconsiderable con- " sequence, the firmness of political situation. " For this, the means are to be sought in other " political forms.

" The *ultimate choice* is completed in the " spring of each year, by electing *twelve persons* " out of the twenty who have been nominated " as candidates, in the preceding autumn. At " the electoral meetings, in April, the name of " each of the twenty candidates is separately " proposed for suffrage; and thereupon an elector " is at his option, either to give his suffrage in " favour of the candidate, by delivering any " written paper, or to refuse such suffrage, and " yet, perhaps, conceal the refusal, by delivering " a paper in blank.

" In this proceeding it is the legal course to " ' begin with the person who stands first in the " ' nomination,' and then pursue the order in " which the names are placed on the list, and " so proceed through the whole.

" The presiding authority, upon receiving " them, takes care to inclose the votes for each " candidate in a distinct cover, under seal, on " which is written the name of the person voted

" for. The respective votes given in each " town, for the several candidates, being thus " inclosed and placed under seal, are to be " transmitted to the general assembly, holden " in May, there to be opened and examined. " ' The twelve persons who shall have the " ' greatest number of votes, shall be declared " ' to be elected assistants for the ensuing year.'

" In this election of twelve persons from " among twenty candidates, the probability is, " that a *plurality** of votes would usually be " given for the twelve whose names are first " proposed. This is to be expected, whenever " the electors have no particular causes for pre- " ference or rejection.

" But will all that we have now remarked be " sufficient to assure the proper degree of sena- " torial stability? According to the idea just " intimated, the result of the process is con- " nected with the order in which the names of " the twenty candidates are placed on the list. " Upon what principle are these names ar- " ranged?

" No written law is found for determining " this point. It seems not improbable that sen-

* By *plurality* the writer means nothing more than *majority*, but applies this term to the *majority* at the second election.

" timents of civility would, in this instance as in " others, favour the principle of giving prece- " dence according to official seniority : And this " order of precedence, after being adopted from " such sentiments, might be regarded as having " the authority of governmental usage. Various " examples of important usages, which are in- " troduced by the regard to particular circum- " stances, may be traced in the history of the " English government. Might not a corres- " pondent regard to circumstances operate in " modifying the government of one of the late " English colonies ?

" If political usage, in the case before us, has " regulated the order of precedence according to " official seniority, this consideration will assist " us in the solution of the paradox which has " been stated. And that such usage has been in " fact adopted as a fixed rule, you may fairly " conclude, from the language of a writer who " speaks as a person experimentally acquainted " with the subject.—' The practice of placing " ' those who are assistants the first on the list, " ' according to seniority of office, though others " ' may have a greater number of votes, is a " ' great security of their re-election.'

" This practice, as it thus appears from au- " thentic evidence, is the established usage of

" the legislative assembly. Of course, it is a " species of parliamentary law.

" Being therefore unquestionably certain, it " is to be regarded as the key-stone of the " arch—essential to the stability of the whole " fabric.

" Notwithstanding all this security for politi- " cal firmness, when the number of small *elec-* " *torates*, and the frequency of their elections, " are considered, the opinion impresses itself, " that other causes must have had an auxiliary " agency in maintaining the peculiar steadiness " for which the state has been characterized. " Under this impression, it would seem that the " mass of other institutions and usages must " have tended to produce an habitual conviction " of the importance of stability in affairs, an at- " tachment to order, and a correspondent abhor- " rence of confusion.

" How far this is the fact, will be for subse- " quent inquiry. At present, if we attend to " the particular subject before us, the mode of " electing the members of the *senatorial* coun- " cil is observable for its originality and utility. " In relation to this single body of men, the " process is adapted to unite two objects which " have been deemed incompatible—the control " of frequent elections, and the stability of a " permanent senate.

" To secure the possession of their places, " amidst annual elections, the members of this " body must consult the public good: when- " ever, in consequence of misconduct, they be- " come ' generally unpopular, they will infallibly " ' be dismissed from office.'

" Yet the aggregate process is such that it has " an ' effect to render permanent the seats of " ' those who *conduct well*,* by guarding them " ' against the schemes of parties.' Their places, " therefore, are practically holden during good " behaviour.

" To determine respecting the merits or de- " merits of their conduct, there is no parade of " impeachment. The determination is made " by the *electoral* body, which sits in judgment, " twice in every year, upon each of the mem- " bers. If the conduct of any one of them has " been such as to deserve exclusion from office, " the public opinion, in deciding against him, " exerts the censorian power of expelling from " the senate.

" What senatorial body was ever constituted " upon principles more congenial to liberty, to " order, and to virtue ?"†

Views similar to those of this writer have also been held out by an earlier advocate: " It has

* This is a corrupt idiom in general use in Connecticut.

† Specimen of Republican Institutions, p. 30.

" been often considered," says he, " as a defect in " the policy of Connecticut, that there are so " frequent elections. The house of representa- " tives is chosen half-yearly. The inconve- " nience of two freemen's meetings in a year, is " abundantly compensated by the advantages " derived from it, in the choice of the council.

" The advantages of this mode of election " are numerous. It brings into one view the " sense of the freemen, relative to those men " who are best qualified, in their opinion, to fill " the important office of counsellor. Each free- " man being at liberty to vote for those twenty " persons whom he prefers, the choice is free " and unbiassed. But, as it could not be sup- " posed that any twenty persons would obtain a " majority of all the votes, it was ordained that " the twenty highest should be chosen. This, " as it has been seen, is advancing but half way " towards the office. At the next election the " candidate must obtain a plurality of votes, " otherwise he is not chosen. Perhaps a double " plurality may be deemed equivalent to a single " majority. It has some manifest advantages " over it. In the first place, there is always a " certainty of an election. Where there is but " a single election, and of course a majority is " required, there will usually be some vacancies. " This will cause a new election by the people,

" or they must be filled by the legislature. The " first is expensive and troublesome, and gene- " rally attended with party-spirit, electioneering, " and corrupt practices; the latter is substitu- " ting a mode of election not conformable to the " true spirit of elective governments. Secondly, " no man can start from obscurity into this " branch of the legislature.

" If a vicious or unworthy character, by any " accidental circumstance, obtains a place in the " nomination, six months must elapse before " the second election takes place. During that " period the freemen will certainly discover his " true character, and the nomination will almost " as certainly limit his progress. Thus we pro- " bably have the true reason why demagogues " never succeed in Connecticut. Where their " object is accomplished by a single election, " they will often succeed. But the nomination " always warns the people of the approaching " danger, and the evil seasonably is prevented."*

1. Examining the subject for ourselves, the first thing aimed at, as we shall perceive, is to oblige the candidate to undergo a second *trial*, or two-fold election, before his success is admitted.

2. The second, is to secure time for counteracting any sudden or temporary partiality in the

* Dwight's Oration, &c. p. 36, 37.

body of the people, such as may be displeasing to those of influence, and perhaps of virtue.

3. The third, is to secure the return of those already in power: "the *mode of voting* almost "certainly secures the election."

4. The end, is the solution of the problem, how stability may be communicated to a democracy. It is "hence has arisen," says the writer whom I last quoted, "the stability of "this branch of our government. Although the "election is perfectly democratic, that is, made "by the people of the state at large, yet a coun- "sellor scarcely ever fails of a re-election, un- "less he publicly declines it. Since the year "1783, there has been but one instance of a "counsellor being left out by the freemen, un- "less for the reason which I have mentioned."

Credit is undoubtedly due to this scheme or system for its ingenuity, and its practical effects in Connecticut may be completely beneficial; but I venture to express an opinion, that it is undistinguished by any feature of that wisdom which is contended for, and that it is altogether unfit for imitation. In Connecticut, its effect is to keep in power the party which has from the first possessed it. That party, from the accuracy of the principles upon which it acts, or from the virtues of those who espouse it, may be the proper depository of power; but, were it not so, the effect would

be the same. In either of the more populous states, or in the United States at large, such a system would place every thing at the mercy of intrigue, of calumny and violence: it would perpetuate the dominion of the present or any future prevailing party. In England, it would enable any administration to maintain itself forever, in equal defiance of the crown and of the people. Every where, it must secure the continuance of power to the original holder. Not indeed to the individual, because an individual may become obnoxious to his party; but, what is more dangerous, it must secure it to the party itself. In practical politics, we are not to listen to such language as that contained in the concluding paragraphs of the writer whose detailed apology we have read.

CHAPTER VI.

Connecticut—Elective Franchise.

"NO person *qualified by law is prohibited* "from voting."*

The elective franchise is very singularly circumstanced. It accompanies the franchise or

* American Universal Geography, &c. By Jedidiah Morse, D. D. Boston, 1802. Art. Connecticut.

freedom of the state; but this freedom is not a birthright, but a gift; and a gift which may be taken away. As to civil rights, the natives of the soil are not only divisible into freemen and slaves; but into slaves, freemen and non-freemen: by birth, a man is no where even a lawful inhabitant! A writer, who has presented a systematic view of the constitutions of government of the United States, as well that of the federal government, as of the several states themselves,* has represented the elective franchise as residing in the *people* of Connecticut, though the statute-book, with reason, always places it in the *freemen.* In another publication on this subject, we are informed, that "in every town, each inhabitant who has the re- "quisite qualifications of age, estate, and *mo-* "*rality*, may be publicly admitted to the *electo-* "*ral franchise*, under the sanction of officers "authorised to superintend the transaction."†

Every town is capable of granting the freedom of the state. To obtain it, a man must be an inhabitant of full age, competent estate, *peaceable behaviour and civil conversation*, and moreover certified to be so, by certain officers of the town. These

* William Smith, Esq.

† Republican Institutions.

officers give or withhold this certificate at their discretion: "All such inhabitants in this state," says the statute, "as have accomplished the age "of twenty-one years, and have the possession "of freehold estate to the value of seven dollars "per annum, or one hundred and thirty-four dol- "lars personal estate in the general list of estates "in that year wherein they desire to be admitted "freemen; or are possessed of estates as afore- "said, and by law excused from putting it into "the list; and also are persons of a quiet and "peaceable behaviour, and civil conversation, "may, if they desire it, on their procuring" a majority of the civil authority and selectmen to certify in writing that they are qualified "as "above said, be *admitted and made free of this* "*state*, in case they take the oath provided by "law for freemen; which oath any one assistant "or justice of the peace is hereby empowered "to administer *in said* freemen's meeting."

The duty of certifying was formerly confided to the selectmen only; and they were liable to punishment by fine, if they granted certificates to unqualified persons. The fine on each certificate at one time amounted to five pounds currency, but latterly only to eleven dollars. To refuse a certificate to a qualified person appears never to have been punishable. At present, it stands enacted, "That no person hereafter be

" admitted and made free of this state, until he " has procured a majority of the civil authority " and selectmen of the town wherein such per- " son inhabits, to certify in writing, that the said " person or persons are qualified agreeably to the " provisions of the" former act; and " That it " shall be the duty of the civil authority and se- " lectmen of each town in this state, on every " freemen's-meeting day, to meet at the place " appointed for said meeting, and previous to " said meeting being opened, and not afterwards, " shall receive and carefully examine all applica- " tions for admission to the privileges of free- " men, and having so received, examined and " approved, shall certify the same in writing, " which certificate shall be sufficient evidence of " the qualification of such person or persons, " and shall entitle him or them to the freemen's " oath."

That the franchise of the state conveys the elective franchise, is to be learned from the colonial charter of King Charles the Second, an instrument which is still the constitution of government; and from the statutes which regulate the mode of election. The words of the charter are these:

" And further, we will, and by these presents " for us, our heirs and successors, do ordain and " grant, that the governor of the said company

" for the time being, or in his absence by occa-
" sion of sickness, or otherwise by his leave or
" permission, the deputy-governor for the time
" being, shall and may, from time to time, upon
" all occasions, give order for the assembling of
" the said company, and calling them together to
" consult and advise of the business and affairs
" of the said company; and that forever hereafter,
" twice in every year, that is to say, on every
" second Thursday in October, and on every
" second Thursday in May, or oftener, in case
" it shall be requisite, the assistants and freemen
" of the said company, or such of them (not ex-
" ceeding two persons from each place, town or
" city) who shall be from time to time thereunto
" elected or deputed by the major part *of the free-*
" *men of the respective towns, cities and places*,
" for which they shall be elected or deputed,
" shall have a general meeting or assembly,
" then and there to consult and advise in and
" about the affairs and business of the said com-
" pany."

The towns enfranchise, but not disfranchise. This latter belongs to the highest court of judicature, called the *superior court*. It is provided, " That if any freeman of this state
" shall walk scandalously, or commit any scan-
" dalous offence, it shall be in the power of the
" superior court in this state, on complaint there-

" of to them made, to disfranchise such free-
" man; who shall stand disfranchised, till by
" his good behaviour the said superior court
" shall see cause to restore him to his franchise-
" ment or freedom again; which the said court
" is empowered to do."

Our curiosity is now raised, as to the provisions and the history of the constitution of government; and, by the inquiry to which I propose to devote the succeeding chapter, not only these questions will be answered, but much light will be thrown upon all the existing institutions of Connecticut.

Besides the general causes of disfranchisement, it is provided, that in case of defamation of " any court of justice, or the sentence or " proceedings of the same; or any of the ma-" gistrates, judges or justices of any court, in " respect of any act or sentence therein passed," in any of these cases, " the court before whom " the trial is had" *may* disfranchise;* and that any person, convicted, a second time, of giving or receiving any thing in the nature of a bribe in any election, *shall* be disfranchised.†

* Statutes of Connecticut, Title XIV. chap. 1. sec. 8.

† Ibid. Title *Election*.

CHAPTER VII.

Connecticut—Constitution of Government.

THE constitution of government is contained, as already observed, in the colonial charter, of which the grant was in the year 1662. In 1784, it was enacted by the general assembly, "That the ancient form of civil govern-" ment, contained in the charter from Charles " the Second, king of England, and adopted " by the people of this state, shall be and re-" main the civil constitution of this state, un-" der the sole authority of the people thereof, " independent of any king or prince whatever."* What follows comprises so much of the charter as respects the constitution of government; and the preamble will materially explain the origin and basis of the establishment.

" CHARLES the Second, by the grace of " God, king of England, Scotland, France and

* There is here an example, I believe solitary in the statutes, of the use of the word *people*, as a body possessed of civil rights. *Free inhabitants* soon follows.

" Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all " whom these presents shall come, GREETING. " Whereas by the several navigations, dis- " coveries and successful plantations of divers " of our loving subjects of this our realm of " England, several lands, islands, places, colonies " and plantations have been obtained and settled " in that part of the continent of America called " New England, and thereby the trade and com- " merce there hath been, of late years, much in- " creased; and whereas we have been inform- " ed by the humble petition of our trusty and " well beloved John Winthrop, John Mason, " Samuel Wyllys, Henry Clarke, Matthew Al- " lyn, John Tapping, Nathan Gold, Richard " Treat, Richard Lord, Henry Wolcott, John " Talcott, Daniel Clarke, John Ogden, Thomas " Wells, Obadiah Bruen, John Clarke, Anthony " Hawkins, John Deming and Matthew Cam- " field, being persons principally interested in " our colony or plantation of Connecticut in " New England, that the same colony, or the " greatest part thereof, was purchased and ob- " tained for great and valuable considerations, " and some other part thereof gained by con- " quest, and with much difficulty, and at the only " endeavours, expense and charges of them and " their associates, and those under whom they " claim, subdued, improved, and thereby be-

" come a considerable enlargement and addi-
" tion of our dominions and interest there.
" *Now know ye*, That in consideration there-
" of, and in regard the said colony is remote
" from other the English plantations in the
" places aforesaid, and to the end the affairs and
" business which shall from time to time hap-
" pen or arise concerning the same, may be
" duly ordered and managed, we have thought
" fit, and at the humble petition of the persons
" aforesaid, and are graciously pleased to create
" and make them a body politic and corporate,
" with the powers and privileges herein after
" mentioned; and accordingly our will and
" pleasure is, and of our especial grace, certain
" knowledge and mere motion, we have ordain-
" ed, constituted and declared, and by these
" presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do
" ordain, constitute and declare, that they the said
" John Winthrop, &c. and all such others as now
" are, or hereafter shall be admitted and made
" free of the company and society of our colony
" of Connecticut in America, shall from time to
" time, and forever hereafter, be one body cor-
" porate and politic, in fact and name, by the
" name of governor and company of the En-
" glish colony of Connecticut in New England,
" in America; and that by the same name, they
" and their successors shall and may have per-

" petual succession, and shall and may be per-
" sons able and capable in the law, to plead and
" be impleaded, to answer and to be answered
" unto, to defend and be defended in all and sin-
" gular suits, causes, quarrels, matters, actions
" and things, of what kind or nature soever;
" and also to have, take, possess, acquire and
" purchase lands, tenements or hereditaments,
" or any goods, or chattels, and the same to
" lease, grant, demise, alien, bargain, sell and
" dispose of, as other our liege people of this
" our realm of England, or any other corpora-
" tion or body politic within the same may law-
" fully do. *And further*, That the said governor
" and company, and their successors, shall and
" may forever hereafter have a common seal, to
" serve and use for all causes, matters, things and
" affairs whatsoever, of them and their succes-
" sors, and the same seal to alter, change,
" break and make new from time to time, at
" their wills and pleasures, as they shall think
" fit. *And further*, we will and ordain, and by
" these presents, for us, our heirs and successors,
" do declare and appoint, That for the better or-
" dering and managing of the affairs and busi-
" ness of the said company and their succes-
" sors, there shall be one governor, one deputy-
" governor, and twelve assistants, to be from

" time to time constituted, elected and chosen,
" out of the freemen of the said company for
" the time being, in such manner and form as
" hereafter in these presents is expressed, which
" said officers shall apply themselves to take
" care for the best disposing and ordering of the
" general business and affairs of and concerning
" the land and hereditaments herein after men-
" tioned to be granted, and the plantation there-
" of, and the government of the people thereof:
" and for the better execution of our royal plea-
" sure herein, we do for us, our heirs and suc-
" cessors, assign, name, constitute and appoint
" the aforesaid John Winthrop to be the first
" and present governor of the said company,
" and the said John Mason to be the deputy-
" governor, and the said Samuel Wyllys, &c. to
" be the twelve present assistants of the said com-
" pany, to continue in the said several offices re-
" spectively, until the second Thursday, which
" shall be in the month of October now next
" coming. *And further*, we will, and by these
" presents for us, our heirs and successors, do or-
" dain and grant, That the governor of the said
" company for the time being, or in his absence
" by occasion of sickness, or otherwise by his
" leave or permission, the deputy-governor for
" the time being, shall and may from time to
" time upon all occasions, give order for the

" assembling of the said company, and calling " them together to consult and advise of the " business and affairs of the said company, and " that forever hereafter, twice in every year, " that is to say, on every second Thursday in " October, and on every second Thursday in " May, or oftener in case it shall be requisite, " the assistants and freemen of the said compa- " ny, or such of them (not exceeding two per- " sons from each place, town or city) who shall " be from time to time thereunto elected or de- " puted by the major part of the freemen of the " respective towns, cities and places for which " they shall be elected or deputed, shall have a " general meeting or assembly, then and there " to consult and advise in and about the affairs " and business of the said company : and that " the governor, or in his absence the deputy- " governor of the said company for the time " being, and such of the assistants and freemen " of the said company as shall be so elected or " deputed, and be present at such meeting or " assembly, or the greatest number of them, " whereof the governor or deputy-governor, and " six of the assistants, at least to be seven, shall " be called the general assembly, and shall have " full power and authority to alter and change " their days and times of meeting, or general " assemblies, for electing the governor, deputy-

" governor, assistants, or other officers, or any
" other courts, assemblies or meetings, and to
" choose, nominate and appoint such and so
" many other persons as they shall think fit, and
" shall be willing to accept the same, to be free
" of the said company, and body politic, and
" them into the same to admit; and to elect
" and constitute such officers as they shall think
" fit and requisite for the ordering, managing
" and disposing of the affairs of the said go-
" vernor and company and their successors.
" *And we do hereby* for us, our heirs and suc-
" cessors, establish and ordain, That once in
" a year for ever hereafter, namely, the said se-
" cond Thursday of May, the governor, deputy-
" governor and assistants of the said company,
" and other officers of the said company, or such
" of them as the said general assembly shall
" think fit, shall be, in the said general court and
" assembly, to be held from that day or time,
" newly chosen for the year ensuing, by such
" greater part of the said company for the time
" being, then and there present; and if the go-
" vernor, deputy-governor and assistants, by
" these presents appointed, or such as hereafter
" be newly chosen into their rooms, or any of
" them, or any other the officers to be appointed
" for the said company shall die, or be removed
" from his or their several offices or places be-

" fore the said general day of election, whom we " do hereby declare for any misdemeanour or de- " fault, to be removable by the governor, assist- " ants and company, or such greater part of " them in any of the said public courts to be as- " sembled, as is aforesaid, that then and in every " such case, it shall and may be lawful to and " for the governor, deputy-governor, and assist- " ants and company aforesaid, or such greater " part of them so to be assembled, as is afore- " said, in any of their assemblies, to proceed to " a new election of one or more of their com- " pany, in the room or place, rooms or places, " of such governor, deputy-governor, assistant " or other officer or officers so dying or remo- " ved, according to their discretions; and imme- " diately upon and after such election or elec- " tions made of such governor, deputy-gover- " nor, assistant or assistants, or any other officer " of the said company, in manner and form " aforesaid, the authority, office and power be- " fore given to the former governor, deputy- " governor, or other officer and officers so remo- " ved, in whose stead and place new shall be " sent, shall as to him and them, and every of " them respectively cease and determine."

Here follow some incidental ordinances, after which is a clause, of which the following portion is necessary to our view: " And

" we do further, of our special grace, cer-
" tain knowledge and mere motion, give and
" grant unto the said governor and compa-
" ny of the English colony of Connecticut, in
" New England in America, and their succes-
" sors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for
" the governor, or deputy-governor and such of
" the assistants of the said company for the time
" being as shall be assembled in any of the ge-
" neral courts aforesaid, or in any courts to be
" especially summoned or assembled for that
" purpose, or the greater part of them, whereof
" the governor, or deputy-governor, and six of
" the assistants to be always seven, to erect and
" make such judicatories, for the hearing and
" determining of all actions, causes, matters and
" things happening within the said colony or
" plantation, and which shall be in dispute, and
" depending there, as they shall think fit and
" convenient; and also from time to time to
" make, ordain and establish all manner of
" wholesome and reasonable laws, statutes, or-
" dinances, directions and instructions, not con-
" trary to the laws of this realm of England, as
" well for settling the forms and ceremonies of
" government, and magistracy, fit and necessary
" for the said plantation, and the inhabitants
" there, as for naming and styling all sorts of
" officers, both superior and inferior, which they

" shall find needful for the government and plan-
" tation of the said colony, and the distinguish-
" ing and setting forth of the several duties,
" powers and limits of every such office and
" place, and the forms of such oaths not being
" contrary to the laws and statutes of this our
" realm of England, to be administered for the
" execution of the said several offices and pla-
" ces, as also for the disposing and ordering of
" the election of such of the said officers as are
" to be annually chosen, and of such others as
" shall succeed in case of death or removal, and
" administering the said oath to the new elected
" officers."

What remains to be extracted is a clause of importance: " Our will and pleasure," says the royal founder, " Our will and pleasure
" is, and we do for us, our heirs and successors,
" ordain, declare and grant unto the said go-
" vernor and company, and their successors,
" that all, and every the subjects of us, our
" heirs, or successors, which shall go to inhabit
" within the said colony, and every of their chil-
" dren, which shall happen to be born there, or
" on the seas in going thither, or returning from
" thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and
" immunities of free and natural subjects with-
" in any of the dominions of us, our heirs or
" successors, to all intents, constructions and

" purposes whatsoever, as if they and every of " them were born within the realm of England." The clause then goes on to provide for the administration of the oath of supremacy and obedience.

1. From the foregoing we discover, that subject always to the dominion of the crown, the soil of the colony was acquired by private adventure. The facts adverted to in the preamble are such as were stated in the petition.

2. We learn further, that the adventurers were created a body politic and corporate, by the name of the Company and Society of the Colony of Connecticut; and that the incorporation was extended to the adventurers and their associates, and all such as then were, or thereafter should be, admitted and made free of the company.

4. That the company still subsists in the person of the state.

5. That the company, and therefore the state, was and is invested with the right of " choosing, " nominating and appointing such and so many " other persons as they shall think fit, and shall " be willing to accept the same, to be free of the " said company and body politic, and them into " the same to admit;" and, in conformity with this basis, we find the general court or assembly declaring, in 1665, " That it is their full

" sense and determination, that such persons as " are, or hereafter shall be, approved to *be* " *freemen of this corporation*, shall take the " oath that is already established upon record " to be administered to the respective freemen : " And further, that all such as shall refuse to " take the said oath, though otherwise approved " persons, shall not partake of the privileges of " those that have been formally *incorporated* " *into this civil society*."

6. That every person born in Connecticut, is born to the inheritance of Magna Charta.

But, a further enlargement of our view, of the institutions of Connecticut, is to be obtained from the perusal of an instrument more ancient than the charter ; namely, a constitution of government, formed by the colonists themselves, in the year 1639. This constitution, of which the existence was superseded by the charter, was comprised in eleven articles, of which the ten following bear upon the structure of the government :

" 1. IT is ordered, sentenced and decreed, " That there shall be yearly two general assem- " blies or courts, the one on the second Thurs- " day of April, the other the second Thursday " of September following : *the first shall be* " *called the court of election*, wherein shall be " yearly chosen, from time to time, so many

" magistrates and other public officers as shall " be found requisite, whereof one to be chosen " governor for the year ensuing, and until ano- " ther be chosen, and no other magistrate to be " chosen for more than one year; provided al- " ways there be six chosen besides the gover- " nor, which being chosen and sworn, according " to an oath recorded for that purpose, shall " have power to administer justice according to " the laws here established, and for want there- " of according to the rule of the Word of God : " which choice shall be made by all that are " admitted freemen, and have taken the oath of " fidelity, and do cohabit within this jurisdic- " tion, having been admitted inhabitants by the " major part of the town where they live, or the " major part of such as shall be then present.

" 2. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, " That the election of the aforesaid magistrates " shall be on this manner: every person present " and qualified for choice shall bring in (to the " persons deputed to receive them) one single " paper, with the name of him written on it " whom he desires to have governor; and he " that hath the greatest number of papers shall " be governor for that year. And the rest of " the magistrates or public officers to be chosen " in this manner: the secretary for the time be- " ing shall first read the names of all that are to

" be put to choice, and then shall severally no-
" minate them distinctly; and every one, that
" would have the person nominated to be cho-
" sen, shall bring in one single paper, written
" upon; and he that would not have him chosen
" shall bring in a blank; and every one that has
" more written papers than blanks shall be a
" magistrate for that year; which papers shall be
" received and told by one or more that shall be
" then chosen by the court, and sworn to be
" faithful therein: but, in case there should not
" be six persons as aforesaid, besides the go-
" vernor, out of those which are nominated, then
" he or they, which have the most written papers,
" shall be a magistrate or magistrates, for the
" ensuing year, to make up the aforesaid num-
" ber.

" 3. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed,
" That the secretary shall not nominate any per-
" son new, nor shall any person be chosen newly
" into the magistracy, which was not propounded
" in some general court before, to be nominated
" the next election: and to that end it shall be
" lawful for each of the towns aforesaid, by their
" deputies, to nominate any two whom they con-
" ceive fit to be put to election, and the court
" may add so many more as they judge requi-
" site.

" 4. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, " That no person be chosen governor above " once in two years, and that the governor be " always a member of some approved congre- " gation, and formerly of the magistracy within " this jurisdiction, and all the magistrates free- " men of this commonwealth; and that no ma- " gistrate or other public officer shall execute any " part of his or their office before they are several- " ly sworn, which shall be done in the face of the " court if they be present, and in case of absence " by some deputed for that purpose.

" 5. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, " That to the aforesaid court of election, the se- " veral towns shall send their deputies, and when " the elections are ended they may proceed in " any public service, as at other courts: also, the " other general court, in September, shall be for " making of laws, and any other public occa- " sion which concerns the good of the common- " wealth.

" 6. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, " That the governor shall, either by himself or by " the secretary, send out summonses to the con- " stables of every town, for the calling of those " two standing courts, one month at least before " their several times; and also, if the governor " and the greatest part of the magistrates see " cause, upon any special occasion, to call a ge-

" neral court, they may give order to the secre-
" tary so to do within fourteen days warning,
" and if urgent necessity so require, upon a
" shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it
" to the deputies when they meet, or else be
" questioned for the same. And if the gover-
" nor, or major part of the magistrates, shall
" either neglect or refuse to call the two general
" standing courts, or either of them, as also at
" other times when the occasions of the com-
" monwealth require, the freemen thereof, or
" the major part of them shall petition to them
" so to do; if then it be either denied or neg-
" lected, the said freemen, or the major part of
" them, shall have power to give order to the con-
" stables of the several towns to do the same, and
" so may meet together and choose to themselves
" a moderator, and may proceed to do any act of
" power which any other general courts may.

" 7. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed,
" That after there are warrants given out for any
" of the said general courts, the constable or
" constables of each town shall forthwith give
" notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same,
" in some public assembly, or by going or send-
" ing from house to house, that at a place and
" time by him or them limited and set, they
" meet and assemble themselves together, to
" elect and choose certain deputies to be at the

" general court then following, to agitate the " affairs of the commonwealth, which said de- " puties shall be chosen by all that are admitted " inhabitants in the several towns, and have taken " the oath of fidelity; provided, that none be " chosen a deputy for any general court which " is not a freeman of this commonwealth. The " aforesaid deputy shall be chosen in manner " following: every person that is present and " qualified, as before expressed, shall bring the " names of such, written on several papers, as " they desire to have chosen, for that employ- " ment; and those three or four, more or less, " being the number agreed on to be chosen, for " that time, that have the greatest number of " papers written for them, shall be deputies for " that court; whose names shall be indorsed on " the back side of the warrant, and returned " into the court with the constable or constables " hand unto the same.

" 8. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, " That Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield " shall have power, each town, to send four of " their freemen as their deputies, to every ge- " neral court; and whatsoever other towns shall " be hereafter added to this jurisdiction, they " shall send so many deputies as the court shall " judge meet; a reasonable proportion to the " number of freemen that are in said towns, be-

" ing to be attended therein; which deputies " shall have the power of the whole town, to " give their votes and allowance to all such " laws and orders as may be for the public " good, and unto which the said towns are to " be bound.

" 9. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, " That the deputies, thus chosen, shall have " power and liberty to appoint a time and a place " of meeting together, before any general court, " to advise and consult of all such things as " may concern the good of the public; and also " to examine their own elections, whether ac- " cording to the order; and if they or the " greatest part of them find any election to be " illegal, they may seclude such for the present " from their meeting, and return the same and " their reasons to the court; and if it prove " true, the court may fine the party or parties so " intruding upon the town, if they see cause, " and give out a warrant to go to a new election " in a legal way, either in part or in whole; also " the said deputies shall have power to fine any " that shall be disorderly at their meeting, or for " not coming in due time or place, according to " appointment; and they may return said fine " into the court, if it be refused to be paid, and " the treasurer to take notice of it, and to estreat " or levy the same as he doth other fines.

" 10. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, " That every general court (except such as, " through neglect of the governor and the great- " est part of the magistrates, the freemen them- " selves do call) shall consist of the governor, or " some one chosen to moderate the court, and " four other magistrates at least, with the major " part of the deputies of the several towns, legal- " ly chosen; and in case the freemen, or the " major part of them, through neglect or refu- " sal of the governor and major part of the ma- " gistrates, shall call a court, that shall consist of " the major part of the freemen that are present, " or their deputies, with a moderator chosen by " them: in which said general court shall consist " the supreme power of the commonwealth, and " they only shall have power to make laws or re- " peal them, to grant levies, to admit freemen, to " dispose of lands undisposed of to several towns " or persons, and also shall have power to call " other courts, or magistrate, or any other per- " son whatsoever, into question for any misde- " meanour; and may for just causes displace or " deal otherwise, according to the nature of the " offence; and also may deal in any other matter " that concerns the good of this commonwealth, " except election of magistrates, which shall be " done by the whole body of freemen; in which " court the governor or moderator shall have

" power to order the court, to give liberty of " speech, and silence unreasonable or disorderly " speaking, to put all things to vote, and in case " the vote be equal, to have a casting voice: but " none of these courts shall be adjourned or dis- " solved without the consent of the major part of " the court."—The eleventh article regulates the division of the public burdens.*

On this constitution, a modern historian has passed a high eulogium: " With such wis- " dom did our venerable ancestors provide for " the freedom and liberties of themselves and " their posterity! Thus happily did they guard " against every encroachment on the rights of " the subject! This, probably, is one of the " most free and happy constitutions of civil go- " vernment which has ever been formed! The " formation of it, at so early a period, when the " light of liberty was wholly darkened in most " parts of the earth, and the rights of men were " so little understood in others, does great " honour to their ability, integrity and love to " mankind. To posterity indeed, it exhibited " a most benevolent regard! It has continued, " with little alteration, to the present time. The " happy consequences of it, which, for more

* History of Connecticut, Appendix, No. III.

" than a century and half, the people of Con-
" necticut have experienced, are without de-
" scription !"*

Whether or not this praise is entirely merited, I shall not examine. The constitution, considering the circumstances under which it was formed, (for, in 1639, Connecticut consisted only in the three settlements named in the instrument, and possessed a population of only eight hundred colonists,) is perhaps unexceptionable ; but there is surely some degree of error, in describing it as existing to the present time with *little alteration ;* that is, as essentially adopted and perpetuated in the royal charter. I pass over the bold and original scheme of *constitutional revolution*, detailed in the fifth article, and wholly omitted in the charter, and dwell only on what relates to the *elective franchise*, the topic, the illustration of which I have more especially in view; and which, under a government wholly or in part elective, is of all others the most important to the subject.

It is observed, by the industrious and meritorious editors of the Statutes of Connecticut, that " The elective franchise has been restricted, in " some degree, from the first establishment of " the government. The constitution," they

* Ibid. Book I. Ch. VI. page 97.

add, "adopted by 'the inhabitants and residents "'of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield,' "on the 14th of January, 1639, provided, that "the choice of civil officers should be made by "all that were admitted freemen, and had taken "the oath of fidelity, and cohabited within this "jurisdiction, having been admitted inhabitants "by the major part of the town wherein they live, "or the major part of such as were then pre-"sent."

This citation is correct; but it appears to have escaped, as well the editors of the Statutes, as the author of the Complete History, that we have here but a part of what is to be found in the constitution of 1639, in regard to the elective franchise.

The historian goes so far as to tell us, that under this constitution, "the constables of the "respective towns were obliged to warn all the "*freemen* to elect and send their deputies;" but, upon a recurrence to the seventh article, it will instantly be seen, that as to the election of deputies, there was vested no exclusive franchise in the *freemen*. The deputies must be freemen, but the electors might be only *admitted inhabitants*. Instead of *warn all the freemen*, the words are these—*give notice distinctly to the inhabitants*. As to the civil or public officers, they were to be elected by the freemen. The first alteration, therefore, that presents itself, is the re-

duction, effected by the charter, of two classes of electors into one; or the exclusion of the non-freemen from the elective franchise. We are to attribute this reduction to the charter; for though the provisions of an act of 1659, in regard to the *making of freemen*, are cited by the editors of the statutes, immediately after those of the constitution, there is in reality nothing shown to connect these new provisions with the question of the elective franchise. They relate entirely to the making of freemen; but it appears, that by the constitution, the franchise was not exclusively in the freemen; and no shadow of evidence is offered, that the investiture of the franchise was in any degree modified, between the date of the constitution and that of the charter. It is in the charter, that for the first time, we find the franchise limited to the freemen.

According to the historian, the constitution provided, that "all persons who had been re-"ceived as members of the several towns, by a "majority of the inhabitants, and had taken the "oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, *should* "*be admitted freemen of the colony;*" but we look in vain for this provision, in the instrument itself. The existence of such a provision would have identified the *admitted inhabitants* with the *admitted freemen*, a measure obviously not contemplated by the constitution; and, from what

follows, it will appear, that the limitation of the franchise to freemen, was, in its operation, a much more serious restriction, than at a cursory view we should imagine.

By the seventh article of the constitution, the franchise was allowed to every man, on two conditions only; that he was an *admitted inhabitant*, and that he had taken the *oath of fidelity*.

A little reflection will convince us, that with respect to that posterity, to which, as we have seen it observed, this constitution exhibited so benevolent a regard, these two conditions would have reduced themselves into a single one, namely, that of taking the *oath of fidelity*. To understand the true signification of the phrase *admitted inhabitants*, and that temporary operation which alone it could constitutionally have claimed, we must consider the situation of Connecticut, in the year 1639.

The first adventurers had arrived only in 1635 or 1634. They consisted of adults and children, none of whom were natives of the soil. They commenced their settlements in virtue of purchase and permission of the Indians. They formed new communities, in which none had any rights except themselves. All was theirs. It was theirs to sell or to refuse to sell their lands to such under-purchasers as they *thought fit*, and on such

terms as they *thought fit*. They were free to exclude all new adventurers, if they *thought fit*, and to admit them in all respects as they *thought fit*. He, therefore, whom they admitted to be an inhabitant, became an *admitted inhabitant;* and he, whom they admitted to the freedom, became a *freeman*. Time, however, ought to have produced a new state of things. Children were born of these *admitted inhabitants;* they were natives of the soil; and it is preposterous, in regard of them, to talk of admitted and unadmitted inhabitants, lawful and unlawful: their birth gave them admission, and made their habitation lawful. These children, therefore, this posterity, must have inherited, under the constitution of 1639, the elective franchise, as it respected the deputies, on the single condition of taking the oath of fidelity. They were not born freemen of the towns; but non-freemen were thus privileged.

Under what restrictions, or upon what conditions, new adventurers, at the date of the constitution, were admitted to be freemen, we are in reality uninformed; but, in 1662, this admission was guarded by several restrictions.*

* The editors of the Statutes, in their note, at page 356, assert, that the qualities of an orderly, peaceable and good conversation, had never been dispensed with.

" In March, 1659, an act of the general court " provided, that none should be presented to be " made freemen, or have the privilege of freemen " conferred upon them, until they had fulfilled " the age of twenty-one years, and had 30*l.* of " proper personal estate, or had borne office in the " commonwealth; and such persons, so qualified, " and being men of an honest and peaceable con- " versation, should be presented, in an orderly " way, to the general court, in October, yearly, " to prevent tumult and trouble at the court of " election."

We see, therefore, that to confine the elective franchise to the freemen, as was done by the charter, was to superadd, to the single restriction that affected the generation that had grown up under the constitution, the several restrictions that were thus laid upon the admission to freedom; and what is much more, it was wholly to take away the franchise, as a right of birth.

It was in 1662, that the finishing stroke was put to the restrictions on the grant of the elective franchise ; for it was then made necessary, not only to be qualified, but to obtain a certificate of qualification, before the *freedom of the corpora-*

This is highly *probable ;* but it does not appear that they are entitled to say more. They produce no provision of the kind, of a date earlier than 1659.

tion could be demanded : " In October, 1662, " that act [the act of 1659] was superseded by " the following : ' This assembly doth order, " ' that, for the future, such as desire to be " ' admitted freemen of this corporation shall " ' present themselves, with a certificate under " ' the hands of the major part of the townsmen " ' [selectmen] where they live, that they are " ' persons of a civil, peaceable, and honest con- " ' versation, and that they have attained the age " ' of twenty-one years, and have 20*l.* estate, " ' besides their person, in the list of estates : " ' And that every person so qualified to the " ' court's approbation, shall be presented at " ' October court, yearly, or some adjourned " ' court, and admitted, after the election, at the " ' assembly in May.' "

When we consider, that in so far as regards the election of deputies, the elective franchise, under the constitution of 1639, was vested in the non-freemen equally with the freemen, to be enjoyed of right, and subject to no man's pleasure, on the single condition, as to natives of the soil, of the oath of fidelity ; and when we contrast this provision with the effect of that which confines the franchise to freemen, we must allow that that constitution can scarcely be said to have continued to the present day, with little alteration.

As to the loss of the elective franchise, a circumstance which places the liberties of the subject in another and very important light, it is observable, that the change in the constitution has produced no change in this. Disfranchisement was held forth, as a criminal punishment, so early as 1646. It was again enacted in 1662; and, after various revisions, it is found among the existing statutes: "In April, 1646, it was enacted, that if any person, within the liberties, had been, or should be, fined or whipped for any scandalous offence, he should not be admitted, after such time, to have any vote in town, or commonwealth, until the court should manifest their satisfaction. A subsequent act, passed in October, 1662, contained the following section: 'And in case any freeman 'shall walk scandalously, or commit any scan-'dalous offence, and be legally convicted 'thereof, he shall be disfranchised, by any of 'the civil courts.'"* By the existing statute, already cited, "if any freeman of this state shall walk scandalously, or commit any scandalous offence, it shall be in the power of the superior court in this state, on complaint thereof to them made, to disfranchise such freeman; who shall stand disfranchised, till by his good

* Statutes of Connecticut, p. 358.

" behaviour the said superior court shall see " cause to restore him to his franchisement or " freedom again; which the said court is em- " powered to do."

We see, that under the original provision, a man could be disfranchised only in consequence of previous conviction of some scandalous offence, and of the actual infliction of the punishment consequent on conviction. Under the second form, it was sufficient that there had been a conviction, though the punishment should have been remitted; or even that there was a *walking scandalously*, without conviction of any scandalous offence. Under the existing code, neither the fact of punishment, nor the fact of conviction, is necessary; but, " if any freeman " shall walk scandalously, or *commit* any scan- " dalous offence, it shall *be in the power* of the " superior court, *on complaint thereof*, to dis- " franchise such freeman." Among the many reflections to which this language is proper to give birth, it cannot escape us, that by the act of 1662, it was said, the freeman *shall be disfranchised;* but, by the present, it is not that the superior court *shall disfranchise*, but only that it shall *be in its power to disfranchise*. As to the words *scandalous* and *scandalously*, standing alone, as we now see them, they may be taken in much latitude of meaning.

Looking back, in conclusion, to the Constitution of 1639, we shall now perceive, under still other aspects, that in no shape can it be said to exist, with little, nor without essential alteration, in the Constitution of the Charter. We have seen the general assembly reassume, under the charter, that title of supreme power in the commonwealth, with which, under the style of a general court, it had by the former constitution been invested. But, the circumstances were now widely different; for the general court had been composed of the deputies of the freemen, and non-freemen indiscriminately; and the general assembly was composed of the deputies of the freemen exclusively. To assume supreme power for the assembly, was therefore to deprive the non-freemen of every thing which they had enjoyed under the constitution of 1639.

Even to the forming of that constitution they had been parties; for, though the editors of the statutes represent that instrument as made and adopted by the *free planters*, and though a similar language is used by the historian, Dr. Trumbull; yet, on reference to the paper itself, we find the framers assuming only the more comprehensive description of *inhabitants and residents;* while the existence and respective pretensions of two classes of residents and inhabitants, that is, of freemen and non-freemen, is

established by the provisions framed. That there was no such distinction; that inhabitant and free planter were synonymous terms, is what we might more readily have supposed; but, that there was, is matter of history. Why persons were admitted inhabitants, who were not admitted freemen, is to be explained by the consideration, that the two kinds of admission were grounded on different principles. It was desirable to the leading adventurers, that the number of inhabitants should be increased, for the general advancement of the colony, and more particularly for its defence; meanwhile, they also desired to retain the government in their own hands, from motives temporal and spiritual: as, in the later colony of Newhaven, it was established, that no man should be a free burgess or freeman, except only the members of the church. In Connecticut, there were two very different classes of settlers; those who had left Europe for the sake of indulging in their religious peculiarities, and those who had come with nothing else in view, than the trade in hemp and furs. The seventh article of the constitution may therefore be regarded as agreed to by all the residents and inhabitants, as a measure of conciliation and reciprocal advantage; the elective franchise was in part allowed to the non-freemen; but the deputies chosen were to

be freemen. The freemen were strictly a nobility, and the non-freemen were the *people*. Of the numerical proportion of the two classes to each other, I find no account; but the total number of inhabitants and residents, in 1639, has been already stated at eight hundred. I am equally uninformed as to the existing proportion; that is to say, of the proportion which the number of the non-freemen of Connecticut, being of the age of twenty-one years, bears to the whole number of the male population. I believe, however, that it is small.

Under the present view, it becomes explicable, why the choice of the public officers, which is given, in the first article, to the freemen, is also limited, by the same article, to those freemen, not only who had taken the oath of fidelity, and resided within the jurisdiction, but to those who had been admitted *inhabitants*, by the major part of the towns in which they respectively lived. In this, we see the care of the non-freemen, to protect themselves against the effects of a very easy fraud on the part of the freemen; for, as the freemen could always make freemen, they could, but for these provisions, at any time have governed an election, by making freemen of strangers, and of such as were refused to be admitted to be inhabitants by the respective towns. As to the concluding member of the sentence, "or the major

"part of such as shall then be present," it implies, if grammatically taken, that persons might nevertheless be admitted inhabitants of the towns, by the major part of the freemen then present at the court of the election; a provision which goes to defeat the former, in regard to the liberties of the non-freemen. We have our choice, however, in giving it this interpretation, which is grammatical but not probable, or this other, which is probable but not grammatical:— That the freemen, capable of voting, must be such as had been admitted inhabitants by the major part of the town in which they lived, or by the major part of the town, or inhabitants of the town, present *at their admission;* a regulation in conformity with which is the modern practice of the towns.

The constitution of 1639 may be traced in some minute particulars of the modern system, of which it affords the only illustration. We see, here, why the second Tuesday in May is called the *election-day*, though the election is really held a month before. We see, that the election was originally performed at a court of election, assembled annually on the second Thursday in April.

The charter, which takes no notice of a court, by the name of a court of election, alters the time of meeting from April to May; and there is

perhaps no record of this alteration, earlier than the charter. The name *court of election* appears to be now wholly obsolete, and unknown to the statute-book, except in the single section of the act, which, borrowing the words of the Constitution of 1639, defines the powers of the general court.

We find also in this instrument, the origin of that confusion in the names of general court and general assembly. *Court* is the term affected by the Constitution of 1639, and *assembly* is used preferably in the charter. Moreover, the earlier acts had been described as enacted in *general court*, and the practice was continued.

CHAPTER VIII.

Connecticut—Wethersfield—Middletown.

IN my journey to Hartford, I passed through a country, of part of which I shall find another occasion to speak. Into the other part I very shortly returned.

Four miles below the city of Hartford is Wethersfield, once called Watertown. This is one of the three oldest settlements on the river, of which the two others are Hartford

and Windsor. It is, indeed, related, that the very earliest colonists (consisting of a few men, without their families) passed a winter in huts, within the limits of Wethersfield, called, by the Indians or native inhabitants, Piquaug or Pequeag,* in the year 1634. Wethersfield afterward became the hive from which several other towns were settled.

A favourable soil has enabled Wethersfield to acquire much wealth by the culture of a particular vegetable—the onion, of which it exports large quantities. The culture, which is of real magnitude, is chiefly, from the moderate labour that it requires, abandoned to the women and girls. All edifices, in this county, whether private or public, are for the most part of wood; but Wethersfield has a church built of brick; and strangers are facetiously told, that it was built *with onions*. On explanation, it is said, that it was built at the cost of the female part of the community, and out of the profits of their agriculture. In passing through Wethersfield, I saw two little girls hoeing onions, while a boy of nine or ten years of age held the plough, which was drawn by a yoke of oxen.

The fair onion-growers unite with their industry a laudable care of their beauty; and the gay

* Also written *Pauquog*. *Piquaug* or *Piquiag* seems to signify no more than *the water side*.

as well as fashionable clothes, in which they appear on Sundays and other suitable occasions, are not unnoticed by their neighbours. In the field, their dress, which is contrived for protecting them from the sun, often disguises every lineament of the human figure.

Wethersfield affords all the common productions of the country; but onions are its staple; and habits of indolence are said to obtain among the men.

The road through Wethersfield is excellent. From Rocky Hill, there is a wide and enchanting prospect, stretching over meadows and fields, watered by the Connecticut. To the north, in the distance, is a mountain, called Mount Tom. At Rocky Hill, the fabric of a new church or meeting-house is begun.

Adjoining Wethersfield, and still lower down the river, is Middletown. This town is one of the largest in the state, and contains a *city* of its own name. The *city* is about two miles in length, and though less peopled than Hartford, presents the appearance of a handsome village. It was incorporated in 1784, and has a mayor, aldermen and other municipal officers. The act of incorporation further establishes a city-court; and enables the mayor, aldermen, common council and freemen to purchase, hold and convey any estate, real or personal; and the

mayor, aldermen and common council, in common council, to make by-laws, regarding police, commerce and the government of the port. The acts of the common council are not of force, unless approved by the freemen in city meeting; and they may be annulled by the superior court, if considered by that tribunal to be unjust or unreasonable. The law is silent upon the subject of admission to the freedom of the city, leaving that question to the city itself.

The prosperity of the city depends upon its commerce, for which pursuit it is in some respects better situated than Hartford. Hartford, as being at the extreme height of the ship navigation, has more advantages, as to the command of the country market; but vessels cannot pass Middletown with their full lading. At Middletown, there is ten, or even twelve feet water, in the channel; and ships of three hundred tons burden may be loaded and unloaded at the wharfs. Middletown has therefore the more commodious port. Its distance from the mouth of the river, including the windings, and reckoning from Saybrook Bar, is thirty miles. The river is here about half a mile in breadth.

Ship-building is carried on to some extent in Middletown. In 1785, thirty vessels sailed

from this port. The trade is at present larger, though, from the increased number of traders, no single individual does so much business as formerly. The increase of trade was for several years interrupted, partly by misfortunes which befel the merchants or traders, and partly by the ill character which they suffered themselves to acquire in the country round. About the year 1795, a mania for land-speculation seized the United States throughout; and the speculators of Middletown were as unfortunate as a large proportion of the rest. While this calamity diminished their means, the farmers impeached their honesty, accusing them of unfair dealing; or as their phrase is, of *jockeying*. The trade was in consequence transferred to Hartford; but Middletown is said to be fast recovering, alike its commerce, its reputation and its wealth.

In 1797, the *city* was said to contain three hundred houses, and I believe that the number is now scarcely greater. There are two villages or towns, at the distance of two miles from each other, and respectively called the Lower Houses and the Upper Houses; but the Upper Houses constitute a suburb. They are inhabited chiefly by the families of masters of vessels, and other seafaring persons. Between the Lower Houses, or city, and the Upper Houses, a river falls into the Connecticut, call-

ed the *little river*, and sometimes the Ferry-river, over which there is at present a bridge.

Within the city, there are two churches, of which one belongs to the congregationalists or independents, which is the sect prevalent in Connecticut; and one to the members of the church of England, here called *episcopalians*. As being the county-town of the county of Middlesex, Middletown contains a court-house; and, as a port of entry, it has a naval officer and custom-house. There is a town-library, but no public school, except the *district-schools* of the town.

The town is divided into valuable farms, and presents, in every direction, luxuriant landscapes. Wheat, of which the success is very uncertain in these countries, and which suffers greatly from the Hessian fly, is grown in small quantities. The more general crops are buckwheat, rye, flax, and especially *Indian corn* or maize, on which is the chief dependence of the farmer. Sheep are to be met with on every farm, but never in large flocks. The usual number is from fifteen to twenty-five. There is neither shepherd, nor shepherding in this part of America, nor shepherd's dogs. The Merino blood is in request, and spreading; but, whether or not this is the sheep best adapted to these countries, there are judges who dispute.

The wool and flax are manufactured on the farm where they are raised; except that they are carried abroad to be carded, fulled and dyed. I was told, that there is no dyer in Connecticut who understands the secret of communicating to cloth a fixed blue dye.

The lands, stretching from the hills, called the Turkey Hills, through Windsor, Middletown and Durham, are remarkable for their fertility.

The city of Middletown is seated on a declivity, on the west side of the river; but the houses are chiefly near the water. The surrounding uplands display a rich combination of wood and pasture. To the north-west, the country is diversified by wide and verdant meadows, forming the margin of the *little river*, and indeed of the Connecticut itself. Here, in the spring, an annual flood inundates the whole surface, interrupting all communication, except by boats, and frequently destroying the bridges and mills. The rise of water is occasioned by the rains, and by melting of the snow; and this inundation, partly by the lowness of the level of the soil, and partly by an interruption of the course of the Connecticut, which takes place at three miles below the city.

At this spot, the river forces its way through a range of mountains, called in the country the

Eastern Range, by a pass, in some places not more than forty rods in width, and called the Straits. It is a spot of some interest, for its picturesque beauty, for its mineral treasures, and even for its civil history.

A mile or two above the city, on the opposite bank, is a quarry of free-stone, of a coarse garnet-coloured grit, commonly called Connecticut-stone. The quarry is constantly wrought; and on the Middletown side is a mine of cobalt, which was for some years in possession of a company of foreigners, who exported the produce to Amsterdam. This, however, as well as a lead-mine in the Straits, is now neglected. The latter was wrought during the revolution, and was then tolerably productive; and it is thought, that with greater skill, and consequent economy, in the fusion of the ore, it might even now be rendered profitable.

In respect of civil history, I allude to a band of robbers, which, for some years prior to 1792, committed extensive spoliations, and was at length discovered to have its retreat in some caverns in these mountains. The foundation of a powerful banditti had been laid; the offenders not only sheltering themselves in these wilds, but having brought into them their wives and children. I must subjoin, that their career, so

far as I have learned, was marked by no act of extraordinary atrocity.

Connected with the situation of this range of mountains, and the passage which the river has obtained through them, is a phenomenon observed in the town opposite to Middletown, of which the name is Chatham. Here, a considerable tract of coarse sandy soil presents an undulating surface, sunk into circular and bason-like hollows, of greater or less diameter, or raised into hemispherical mounds. Job's Pond, a small lake, occupies one of the hollows; and this lake appears to be the remains of a larger one, of which the sandy region described has been the bed. Before the river obtained its present outlet among the mountains, and when its stream was of much greater volume than now, its annual floods must have stretched much wider than at present, and its ordinary level must have been much higher. Arrested by the Eastern Range, the stream spread itself into a lake. The stream has since by slow degrees subsided; and of the lake, robbed of all foreign resources, nothing remains, but what is within the limits of Job's Pond. There, there are still the native springs, which anciently united their water with those of the river. The hollows and mounds which diversify the surface, hollows and mounds now alike covered with grain, attest the eddies and counter-currents of

the stream by which the one was sunk, and the other raised. Phenomenons of a similar kind are to be met with on the upper banks of the Connecticut; and every-where a thousand facts declare the ancient elevation of the water. Those inundations, which now yearly occur in miniature, occurred in remote ages on a gigantic scale.

Other observers, however, attribute the configuration of the surface, in Chatham, to volcanic causes.

Middletown dates its foundation in 1650 or 1651, and it received its name by statute in 1653.* The Indians, or original inhabitants, were at that period very numerous here. The site of the present *city* was occupied by a village called Matabesec.† When the English became acquainted with it, the name of the reigning chief was Sowheag or Sowheage, and his nation was spread over, not only Matabesec, but Piquaug or Wethersfield, and other parts of the surrounding country. The village stood on the high ground, now called *the upper street*, and was defended by a ditch and palisade. Stone axes, arrow-heads, and fragments of pottery, the workmanship of the Indians, are frequently found in this and the adjacent lands, and particularly on

* Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

† This word is variously spelt. I have wished to use the fewest letters.

a neighbouring hill or mountain, called Indian Mountain.

The soil was purchased of the Indians. In 1673, the number of shares was fixed at fifty-two; and this, at that period, was the number of householders within the town. The more notable of these were either from England direct, or else from the upper towns of Wethersfield and Hartford. Several, however, were from Rowley, Chelmsford and Woburn in Massachusetts.*

Among those who accompanied or followed Dr. Priestley to the United States, were several families which chose Middletown for their new residence; but, nearly all of them fell into misfortunes here, and all have returned to Europe, with the exception of one, that of —— Watkinson, esquire.

This place is the residence of Mr. Dana, the member of congress, and of Mr. Richard Alsop, the translator of Molina's History of Chili, a work lately printed in Connecticut, and since in London. Mr. Alsop is one of the few gentlemen, in these countries, to whom fortune has indulged, or taste endeared, the rural life combined with literary leisure. Besides the translation already mentioned, Mr. Alsop has produced

* Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

many original compositions in verse, and is particularly read in the works of the Spanish and Italian poets, and the Northern bards. There are in this city several other inhabitants of particular respectability.

Middletown has a public walk, but it is ill-kept up; nor is this wonderful, since the open country, with all its walks and rides, is still at the door of every inhabitant of the infant city. Even the burial-grounds, in the centre of its limits, are still *country church-yards;* and to them, in conclusion, I shall lead the sentimental reader, rather than to the alleys of the city-promenade.

So much do ignorance and false taste predominate among mankind, that even the tombs are every-where remarkable, more frequently for traces of these failings, than for features of a happier class;—the tombs, to which no form of folly might be supposed bold enough to approach; where thought might be imagined to stand collected; and where the heart alone —the heart, grand and tender—might seem privileged to indite!

But, the heart can indite only through the medium of the tongue; and the tongue is fashioned by education. Our education surrounds us with false taste; and even robs our language, not only of force, but of precision and meaning.

Hence, when we intend to be serious, our tongue is often jocose; and, when we seek to be graceful, it is often grotesque. Our education leads us away from Nature; and our endowments are rarely vigorous enough to carry us back to her, laden, as we ought to be, with the spoils of Art.

The following epitaphs are examples of the ambiguous, from the East Burial-ground or Grave-yard, in this place:

" *IN memory of Mrs. Desire, late wife of Mr.*
" *Abner Ely, who died September* 1*st*, 1764,
" *aged* 48 *years:*

" A loving wife, and tender mother,
" Left this base world, to enjoy the other."

" *DAN Collens, son of Jonathan and Mary*
" *Collens, deed May ye* 13, 1735, *in the* 8*th*
" *year of his age:*

" This lovely pleasant child
" He was our only one;
" Altho' we have buried three before,
" Two daughters and a son.

" God give us grace, with Job, to say,
" The Lord doth give, and take away,
" And blessed be his name for aye."

I pass by a crowd of minor effusions, and whimsical misspellings, and add only the following, remarkable chiefly for its age, and for the figurative style of the day:

" HERE'S a cedar tall, gently wafted ore
" From Great Britain's isle to this western shore:
" Near fifty years crossing the ocean wide,
" Yet's anchored in this grave from storm or tide:
" Yet remember the body onely here;
" His blessed soul fixed in a higher sphere:

" *Here lies the body of Giles Hamlin, esquire,*
" *adged* 67 *years, who departed this life the first*
" *day of September, ano dom.* 1682."

CHAPTER IX.

Connecticut—Haddam—East Haddam.

IN Hartford, I had had the honour of being introduced to the Reverend Mr. Parsons, a clergyman settled in East Haddam, and to Colonel Moseley, a representative in congress for the state of Connecticut, and an inhabitant of the same place; and the polite invitations of both these gentlemen induced me to take an early opportunity of making a visit there.

East Haddam lies on the east bank of the Connecticut, opposite Haddam, of which it formerly composed a moiety; for, at the first colonization, all the towns on the Connecticut were allowed a territory of equal dimensions on each side of the stream.

Haddam adjoins Middletown, and its principal village or settlement is about ten miles below the city of Middletown, and eighteen or twenty above the mouth of the river. It was purchased of the Indians in 1662, and is called the second town in rank in the county of Middlesex.

There is in this, as in almost every other direction, a turnpike-road; for, these roads being

here made objects of private gain, and not as in England, of merely public care, they are established with avidity, on the smallest prospect of advantage. The road is carried along the edge of a very lofty region, deep at the foot of which, flows in breadth and beauty the Connecticut. After ascending the mountains which form the Straits, the country still maintains a commanding level, nearly to the ocean. Small tributary streams intersect the road, and, in several instances, are employed in turning mills; and numerous gullies and ravines were at this time open, occasioned by the heavy rains which for some time previously had fallen.

Arrived at the ferry, the road afforded a gradual descent to the level of the river; and, a little before the close of evening, I reached the eastern bank, which is rocky and precipitous. The road ascended by degrees to the same height as those on the opposite shore. The summit appeared to be more rocky.

The *landing* is the place of trade; and here are several shops and warehouses, called *stores*, for the sale of foreign goods, and for the reception of domestic produce, in which the former are paid for.

It was night before I had proceeded far; and I reached, by the light of a resplendent moon, a green, on which stood a handsome church, of

wood, white painted. At a little distance, of similar materials and corresponding appearance, I found the house of Mr. Parsons, in which I received the most hospitable welcome.

In the morning, I had the pleasure of accompanying Colonel Moseley to Saybrook, the lowest town on the east bank of the river. We recrossed the ferry; and, after some miles, descended into a flat county, the skirts of which are washed by the sea.

Close to the beach are the remains of the fort built under the authority of the royal patent, granted to Lord Say and Seal, and to Lord Brooke; and near the fort is a cheerful village, of which the houses and church and spire resemble those of many villages in England.

We returned in the evening to East Haddam. This town, which, as already observed, was originally a portion of Haddam, was separately settled in 1704. "A spot in East Haddam," says an American topographer, "was famous for "Indian *pawaws*, and was subject for many "years to earthquakes and various noises, which "the first settlers, agreeable to the superstitious "ideas of that age, attributed to these *pawaws*. "An old Indian being asked what was the rea- "son of such noises in this place, answered, "'The Indians' god was very angry, because

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" ' the Englishmen's god came here.' These " noises are now very frequently heard."

The noises alluded to are said to have been called by the Indians *matchi moodus ;* or the place itself they called *Matchi Moodus*, on account of the noises. *Matchi* signifies *evil.* The settlers commonly called the noises *Moodus-noises ;* and they considered, and probably with reason, the name, Matchi or Mache Moodus, to be that of the place now called Haddam and East Haddam. East Haddam, more particularly, is famous by this appellation, in the New England manuscripts, as the supposed scene of infernal rites.

It is uncertain, whether by *pawaws*, sometimes written *powaws* and *powows*, the author of the above recital understands the priests or officiators in the religious ceremonies of the Indians, or rather the ceremonies themselves ; for both were called by the same name, as well as regarded with the same horror, by the settlers.

The noises, notwithstanding what is above advanced, are not at present common. On the contrary, it is said that they have been very rare, if not wholly unknown, for the last thirty years. Their origin is certainly similar to that of earthquakes ; and their present infrequency agrees with the general cessation of these phenomenons in this mountainous part of the country. In the

hundred and fifty-four years which elapsed between 1628 and 1785, the occurrence of no fewer than forty-five is on record; and it is a combination of facts, well calculated to awaken our attention, that within less than two hundred years, there should have been ascertained, in this part of the world, by well authenticated history, the most sensible alterations in three of the great kingdoms of nature: the springs are known to have decreased; the direction of winds to have changed; and earthquakes, from being frequent, to have become rare. M. Volney attributes the earthquakes and volcanic phenomenons of these regions to the schistous stratum which prevails between the Potowmac and the Saint-Lawrence, and which, as he truly represents, abounds in sulphur;* but, this theory, combined with the fact of diminished frequency in the phenomenons of subterraneous combustion, supposes diminished fuel, and extends our ideas of the rapid progress which has been made on this continent, in the change of natural substance and constitution.

Pawa, or *pawaw*, spelt also *powah*, is a word which I have not found in so general use among

* See *Vue du Sol, Climat, &c. des Etats Unis. Par M. Volney.* Ch. iv.—*Noises of an earthquake* are said to have been heard at New London, which is at a small distance from East Haddam, in May, 1809.

the Indians of New England, as it has always been among the colonists and their descendants. It implies a sacred profession, including physic, prophecy, the direction of consciences and the performance of religious rites. These rites, according to the practice very generally received in the Pagan world, consist in dances,* and even in frantic gestures and faintings, supposed to proceed from the inability of the human frame to sustain the inspirations of divinity. In these cases, the priest may *fall;* and it is to be suspected that *pawa* has its derivation from the verb *pa*, to fall. Be this as it may, the *pawa* is the same with the *shaman* of the north-eastern parts of Asia,† and with the *jongleur*, juggler, or diviner, of the French writers on the Indians of North America.

Pawas are said to have been in full use in New England at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and not entirely to have disappeared before

* By pawas, considered as rites, dances are usually understood. Even a verb has been made expressly; to *powaw*, to dance, to perform *pawas*. In Pennsylvania, pawas appear to have received the name of *canticoes*, apparently from their *songs*.

† See Sauer's Account of Billings's Expedition. London, 1802.

1740.* Indeed, before that date, the Indians themselves had almost disappeared.

Once, at a village of French Indians, in conversation with a descendant of a Dutch prisoner there, I attempted, at first in vain, to learn something concerning *pawas;* but, on coming to an understanding, as to the description of persons intended by this word, I was assured by my instructor, that he could find no English, for the name given these persons by the Indians, but this—*the divine men.* The title, if we desire to treat it respectfully, we may assimilate with that of *divines*, clergymen, or men conversant in *things divine;*—if to debase it, it will make *cunning men*, *conjurers*, or *diviners*. The Latin is *vates*.

If the settlers attributed the *Moodus-noises* to the pawas, whether *pawas* the priests, or *pawas* the rites or sacrifices, they undoubtedly mistook the effect for the cause. The pawas did not occasion the noises at Matchi Moodus, but dances and sacrifices were there celebrated on account of the noises. The Indians believed them to proceed from the *manitos*, spirits or gods, whose residence they therefore supposed that country to be. Earthquakes and *Moodus-noises* are thus understood by Ossian, where he makes Rothmar fall "as falls the Stone of Lo-

* MSS of the late Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles.

" da, shook at once from rocking Drumanard,
" when *spirits heave the earth in their wrath.*"*

East Haddam has a rocky and uneven surface, but a strong and fertile soil. The church, which I have already mentioned, and which was lately built for about six thousand dollars, is of an agreeable architecture, in the modern taste; but it has been the occasion of a religious schism in this town, or rather in this *society*, or rather perhaps in this *church*, in some small degree curious.

A person deceased, bequeathed to the town, or to the *society*, (for I am not certain which,) a plot of ground, on which to build a church. When the parties interested met, it was objected by a certain proportion of them, that the ground was too far to the east, to the west, to the north or to the south; in a word, that it was not in the centre of the town, or of the society, a consideration never neglected, in these countries, where all men's rights are to be defended. The remedy proposed, was to sell the plot bequeathed, and with the avails, and if needful with some addition, to buy another plot, more advantageously situated. The majority refused to allow weight to the objection, and rejected the proposal, alleging, that though the ground was not, by actual measurement, in the

* Temora, Book V.

centre desired, it was so nearly so, as to be, to every reasonable end, as if it were the same. I saw the church, and I was shown also the ground that was acknowledged to be central; and they appeared to be about a furlong apart. The minority persevered in their demand; and, at length, unable to succeed, they not only withdrew themselves from the church, but actually changed the system of religious worship. They built a church of their own, and *hired* (so they term it) a minister of the church of England; and thus this church obtained a footing in East Haddam, where it had never had a footing before.

CHAPTER X.

Connecticut—Societies and Churches.

I HAVE used the words *society* and *church* in senses new to most English readers; and it is therefore time that I should explain their application, in the system civil and religious of Connecticut, and in that of the sect of Christians, calling themselves congregationalists, presbyterians, or independents.

A society is a community or corporation, established, for the most part, for the twofold object of religious worship and common schooling; but, in some instances, for religious worship only. It is also, at least in a *school* view, either the whole, or part of a town, defined by geographical limits.

Sometimes, a town composes one society; sometimes, it includes two or more; sometimes, a remote corner of one town is joined, for local convenience, with the adjoining corner of another, into one society. So far, the arrangements suppose uniformity of religious opinions; but, if these jar, then the society, as to church arrangements, has no reference to territorial subdivision.

Two or three societies may subsist in the same town; and while one neighbour belongs to one, the next may belong to a second. In like manner, a society may be composed of portions of the inhabitants of two, three or four towns, who, severally disagreeing with their immediate neighbours, unite themselves with each other; but, however, societies may be constituted, as to matters of religious worship, the second object, that of common schooling, is always of a local nature, and towns, therefore, uniformly consist of one or more *societies*, considered as districts. Letters may consequently be addressed, and strangers directed, to such or such a town, with the addition of *first*—*second*—or *third society*. The stranger, indeed, is often more perplexed than assisted by such a direction; and when, in the depth of a forest, or on the side of a solitary mountain, he asks his way, he scarcely comprehends what is intended by telling him, that he is actually in *society*, *second*, *first*, or *third*.—Topographers, however, take the term freely in this sense; and, in describing a *town*, relate, that the first society is low, and the second, wet.

It belongs to societies, as *ecclesiastical* societies, to provide for the maintenance of a minister of religion, and to build and repair churches; and as *school* societies, to support, in every so-

ciety, one or more schools, providing for school-masters and mistresses, and building and repairing school-houses ; and, for these purposes, to vote and to levy taxes.

1. Societies are made and constituted by the general assembly.

2. Societies are either with or without *local limits*.

3. The law contemplates, in the general, all societies, sometimes called *ordinary societies*, as of the presbyterian, congregational persuasion; and no *inhabitant* is qualified to vote in any society-meeting, unless in possession of a certain estate, and in full communion with their church. He must also be a settled and approved inhabitant: "No person shall pre-" sume to vote in any society meeting, afore-" said, unless such person hath a freehold in the " same town or society, rated at nine dollars, or " *one hundred and thirty-four dollars* in the com-" mon list, or is a person of full age, and in full " communion with the church; nor shall any " person who is, or shall be, by the laws of this " state, freed or exempted from the payment of " those taxes, granted by any town or society, " for the support of the worship and ministry of " the presbyterian, congregational or consociated " churches in this state, and for the building " and maintaining meeting-houses for such wor-

" ship, on account or by reason of his dissent-
" ing from the way of worship and ministry
" aforesaid, be allowed or admitted to act or
" vote in any town or society meeting, in those
" votes which respect or relate to the support of
" the worship and ministry aforesaid, and the
" building and maintaining of the meeting-
" houses aforesaid."

4. The votes of the qualified, settled and approved inhabitants, are binding on the rest.

5. The settled, qualified and approved inhabitants, in each society, are required to assemble " in the month of December, or in any other
" month in the year, for ordering the affairs of
" the society, and may by a majority of votes,
" when so assembled, choose a committee, a
" moderator, a clerk, a collector and a trea-
" surer."

6. They may also impose and levy taxes " on
" the *inhabitants of such society*, and others by
" law rateable by such society, for the raising
" such sum or sums of money as may be needed
" for the support of the ministry and school
" there, and other matters necessary for them
" to do."

7. Fines may be imposed and levied by distress on persons elected into society-offices, and refusing to serve; and are applied, " one-half to
" the complainer, who shall prosecute to effect,

" and the other half to the treasurer of the so-
" ciety."

8. Where the two or more societies have the same limits and boundaries, the members are to be ascertained by enrolment of their names; and " persons who shall arrive at the age of twenty-
" one years, or women who shall become " widows, dwelling within the limits of such " societies," may make choice, at any time within twelve months, of that society in the rolls of which they prefer entering their names. " The " estates of non-residents pay to the society " lowest in the *list*, within such limits, which " supports the ministry by taxing." But, though this provision, by the terms of the act of 1786, is general, it is tacitly limited by one of 1801. The *society-taxes* are of two classes, as the objects of the society are also two; and are called *school-taxes* and *ecclesiastical*, and sometimes *ministerial taxes;* and the latter, by the act last mentioned, where collected on the estates of non-residents, are given to that " denomination of " Christians," meaning the society of that denomination, to which the non-residents belong. There is some ambiguity, arising from the collisions and phraseology of the acts; but the intention appears to be as here stated.

9. In neglect of making choice of a society, " the persons brought up within *said* limits shall

" belong to that society to which their parents " belonged, (if they dwelt there,) otherwise to " the society to which the head of the family in " which they were brought up, belonged ; and " widows, to the society to which their husbands " did belong ; and persons who come from any " other place to dwell there, shall be taxed by " the society lowest in the list within such limits, " which support the ministry by taxing, until " they *make their election*, as aforesaid."

10. But, nothing in these provisions is to affect the " privileges allowed by law to any " persons who soberly dissent from the worship " and ministry established by the laws of this " state ;" and it is enacted accordingly, that " such inhabitants of towns and societies as have " obtained, or hereafter shall obtain, liberty of " the general assembly to procure, and have the " preaching of the gospel among themselves for " certain months in the year, distinct and sepa- " rate from the established place of worship in " such town or society to which they belong, " shall and may, when and so often as there may " be occasion, meet together at such time and " place as shall be appointed, and according to " the notice thereof to be given them, at least " five days before such meeting, by their com- " mittee, or, for want of committee, by one of " the said principal inhabitants ; and being so

" assembled, may choose a clerk to enter their " votes, and also a committee of three or more " able, discreet men, of the inhabitants afore- " said, to order the prudential affairs of such " precincts, for the end aforesaid; and may by " their major vote in such their meetings, grant " and lay such rates and taxes on the said inha- " bitants as shall be needful for the support of " the minister whom they shall procure to preach " with them for such time, and for other neces- " sary charges arising among them; and to ap- " point a collector or collectors for the gathering " such rates, who shall have the same power to " proceed in collecting the same as collectors of " societies have, and shall be accountable there- " for in the same manner as collectors of society " rates by law are."

Excepting in the choice which is permitted, as to support or non-support of the establishment, in the maintenance of the clergy by taxation, much similitude will be observed, in this distribution, to the parishes, parish-rates, parish or vestry-meetings, and other parochial laws and usages in England. An attempt has been made to identify the towns of New England with the *decennaries* or tythings of England—" Decen- " naries or *towns*;"* but, the constitutions of

* Specimen of Republican Institutions.

the towns appears to be rather a mixture of those of the shire, hundred and parish. Like the English hundreds, the towns had anciently a constable for their chief ministerial officer. Some towns, indeed, appeared to have had more than one constable, in this capacity.* In truth, the society, town and county, in these countries, are new modifications of the parish, hundred and shire, in which the powers and immunities are differently distributed. The clergy being otherwise provided for, the *parish-meeting* levies no tax for this purpose; but, in other respects, it is competent to more than the *society-meeting;* but, what is withheld from the society-meeting, belongs to the *town-meeting;* and the town-meeting engrosses much of what belongs, in England, to the *shire*. There are in England, county-meetings, and in New England, town-meetings, convened on political occasions. As a popular engine, the county-meeting is more powerful than the town-meeting.—Of the town-meeting, while, on the one side, the town has been looked for in the venerable institutions of Alfred, the meeting, on the other, has been identified with the scenes of ancient eloquence: "From that æra," says an academic

* See provisions of the Constitution of 1639, cited in Chap. VII.

orator, (the æra of the establishment of a school of eloquence in the Peloponnesus,) " through the " long series of Greek and Roman history, down " to the gloom of universal night, in which the " glories of the Roman empire expired, the " triumphs and the splendour of eloquence are " multiplied and conspicuous. Then it was that " the practice of the art attained a perfection ever " since unrivalled, and to which all succeeding " times have listened with admiration and de- " spair. At Athens and Rome a *town-meeting* " could scarcely be held, without being destined " to immortality; a question of property be- " tween individual citizens could scarcely be " litigated, without occupying the attention, and " engaging the studies, of the remotest nations " and the most distant posterity."*

A topic, of which the mystery surpasses that of the societies, is that of the *churches*. We are not unfamiliar with this term, as applied, as well to a body of persons as to a building; but if the reader imagines that the societies, or even the settled, approved and qualified inhabitants of those societies, paying, as is said in England, *scot and*

*An Inaugural Oration, delivered at the Author's Installation as Boylston Professor of Rhetorick and Oratory, at Harvard University, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on Thursday, 12th June, 1806. By John Quincy Adams. Boston, 1806.

lot, duly attending divine worship, and agreeing in all things with the church, are, after all, *the churches*, he is to learn that he labours in error.

One Sunday, or as it is here uniformly denominated, one *sabbath*, I accompanied an entire family to church. The master of the family was of the middle age, and performed, as is common with the most respectable persons, the office of chief chorister, or leader of the band, to the singers. Returning to his house, I missed a young man who had been with us; and, on inquiring for him, was informed, that he had stayed behind, to receive the sacrament—with the addition, that "He was a member of the church." Not immediately comprehending the import of this exclusive title, I was at length made to understand, that there was no *member of the church* among the upper members of this family; that the church consists in a narrow circle, within the circle of settled, qualified and approved inhabitants, as that is within the circle of the society; and that it is only to the church that the sacrament of the Last Supper is administered.

The latter circumstance will occasion less surprise, if we call to mind, that the officiating clergy are every-where allowed, under a certain degree of restraint, the right of discriminating

between worthy and unworthy candidates. As to the particular case in question, a religious discipline of some severity was imposed on *the church;* a discipline more agreeable to that morbid piety, which, in particular instances, seizes upon youth, than with those sentiments which wise and virtuous men, of more experience, commonly approve. Not only cards, but dances, songs and music were forbidden to *the church.*

On points of this kind, and, indeed, on many others, every church has its own discipline. The *church* is that portion of the inhabitants of a society which are settled, qualified and approved, and particularly which are *in full communion;* and it is these only, as we have seen, that can vote at society-meetings, and whose will is binding on the rest.

The *church* is a term not found in the provisions of the statute-book, because these look only to the civil or temporal concerns of the establishment. The church is a spiritual society or congregation.

I might here enter further into the religious institutions of the state, or, with still more reason, into the system of schools, which, as has appeared, is included in that of the societies; or explain the *tax-lists*, of which some mention has already more than once occurred. But, I quit, for the present, inquiries of this nature; inquiries, the

full and early pursuit of which I have the less reluctantly allowed myself, because they introduce us to an accurate acquaintance with the genius, the customs and the manners, of the people among whom we are; and because, they form the ground of the picture which these volumes are to display.

CHAPTER XI.

Connecticut—Berlin.

I OUGHT sooner, perhaps, to have prepared those, to whom the topography of the United States is new, for the extraordinary nomenclature that distinguishes it. While the reader is thinking of nothing but the little, though not unboastful, republic of Connecticut, the head of my chapter suddenly carries him to the royal fortress of Frederic. I am guilty, nevertheless, of none of that *curvetting* which a Yorick was able to indulge in, but soberly travelling the turnpike-road, from East Haddam, back to Hartford.

Greater perplexities, hereafter, threaten the reader that shall follow me. Not only has it pleased the good people of New England to decorate

their towns with every name that is of note, in ancient or in modern, in profane or in sacred history, but they have often applied these names in immediate contempt of things; calling north, south; towns, shires; and hills, vales. A day's ride will carry a man from Middlesex to Jericho, and thence to Athens, Corinth, Hyde Park, Peru, Jamaica, Georgia, Bristol, China, Guildhall, *Vershire*, Scotland, Mount Tabor, Babylon, Bedlam, Padanaram and Cheapside. It is an even chance, but on reaching Mount Tabor, he finds a plain; and so of the other denominations; except, indeed, that he may be sure of wit and elegance in Athens, and splendid luxury in Corinth. He shall find Ash*ford* upon a hill; Dan*bury* and Marl*borough* where there is no *borough;* and Cumberland where the *Cymbri* was never heard of. Even names of original composition are equally destitute of meaning; there is no *borough* in New England, unless all its towns be boroughs, in fact though not in name; and yet we read of Dewey's*burgh* and Green's*borough*.

Hapless he, whose imagination is mocked with the name of his native village, far left under the canopy of other skies! When the sun rises, he sets forth, half promising himself to behold the dark and ivied battlements of its church, empurpled by the evening ray. Evening descends, and he is told

that he has performed his journey; but, the church, the copse, the gardens and the cottages, where are they?

Nor is it enough that he reconciles himself to the new association, and learns that there may be a Delhi without palaces or pagodas, without baths or palm-trees, but with wide acres of stumps and trunks of trees, naked, gray and black; and here and there a hut of logs. This is not enough. The name returns upon him thrice in a day; he travels from Pekin in the morning, and he sleeps at Pekin at night. But the Pekin of the morning was a sea-port or a mountain; and the Pekin of the night is a cluster of saw-mills. Every state, and sometimes every county, recurs to the same names.

In the earlier periods of the colonies, the license was somewhat less extravagant; because, though names were arbitrarily borrowed and imposed, yet there was some motive, some sentiment, directing the choice; and names of places are rational, when they have reference to a historical fact, as much as when they are purely geographical. The name of a founder, or of the birth-place or residence of a founder, may be fairly given, upon principles of natural pride, or natural affection; and a kindred motive often lead the first colonists of New England to name their towns after the

birth-places or former residences of their favourite clergy. But, now, little of this sort is regarded. There are no Peruvians in Peru, nor Chinese in China, nor aldermen nor giants in the glens and forests of Guildhall. It is matter of fact, that the choice is often made on no other principles than that a name sounds prettily on the ear. Persons, appointed on committees for naming towns, have told me, that their resource had been, to turn over a gazetteer, and cull from the alphabet a few well sounding names. The lists had been then submitted to the town-meeting, and the choice effected.

In a town in Maine, I was informed, that a different name from that which that town now bears, had been at first imposed by vote of the town-meeting; but, a principal inhabitant, who arrived a little too late, on promising his neighbours a cask of rum, procured the vote to be rescinded, and his own name to be received. Towns often change their names.

I heartily join in the regrets of those, who wish that the Indian names of places had been more generally preserved; and this, not from any idle preference of a foreign language to my mother tongue, nor from any particular admiration of the sounds; but, from the agreement which those names possessed with the places they denoted. The savage has no temptation to

that spirit of mean mimicry which so often disfigures lettered society; and he must call things by their right names, or it is in vain that he calls them by any. When he speaks of *the bend of river*, he means the bend of a river, and not a forest, a lake nor an island. It is the same when he speaks of an island, of a cataract, or of the bason at the cataract's foot. Such is the description of the Indian names that are still retained; and description, as being almost peculiar to these names, stamps them almost exclusively with the character of *classic*, in the whole nomenclature that embraces them. The rest exhibit a senseless heap; and if the reader turn with impatience from its barbarism, let him at least pity the pen that here commits it to paper!

There are therefore no Prussians in Berlin. This town was erected in 1785, and is composed of parts of three societies or parishes, called Kensington, New Britain and Worthington, and previously belonging respectively to the towns of Middletown, Wethersfield and Farmington. Its extent is more than five miles from north to south; but less from east to west. On the east, it is bordered by the *little river*, which, after a course of five or six miles, falls into the Connecticut, at Middletown, in speaking of which place it has been already mentioned. In the season, it supplies abundance of shad. This

river, and the brooks which empty into it, water a great part of Berlin. Of the exact period in which this part of the country, that is, the country between Wallingford and Wethersfield, was first settled, I am not informed.

When the road between New Haven and Hartford was originally made, a Mr. Belcher, commonly called Governor Belcher, received a stipend from the government, on condition of his residing here, and keeping an inn, or, as it is called, a *tavern*. The Indians were at this time troublesome; and mention is made of a wall built by Mr. Belcher, as if for purposes of defence. In this way, however, it could be of no use; for it was of more than a mile in circuit, and formed of uncemented stones, raised only four feet high, like the walls at present common in the country.

This wall, however, had some extraordinary personages among its builders. It is current in tradition, that fourteen or fifteen settlers came into Mr. Belcher's neighbourhood, from the town of Farmington, of whom the whole band possessed unusual strength and stature. Two were of the name of Hart. Of these, one, whose son, at the age of seventy years, is still alive, is said to have had bones so large, that an Indian, who, with others, was passing through the settlement, stopped,

and examined him with surprise. Mr. Hart and his fellow-giants were employed by Mr. Belcher on his wall.

Turkey Mountain, in this town, affords a beautiful prospect, extending to Mount Tom; and, from Lamentation Mountain, of which the west side is rocky and precipitous, may be counted twenty churches. The entire country around is very delightful to the eye, and the soil excellent. Lamentation Mountain is so named from an accident easily supposed to befall an early settler in a wilderness. A Mr. Chester lost his way upon this mountain. Being missed, his neighbours went in search of him, making noises in the woods, and uttering *lamentations*. After a lapse of several days, he had the good fortune to meet with them. He lived to a good old age, and was at length buried in Wethersfield. Over his grave, there is said to be a sculptured stone. From some, I have understood that the sculptures had relation to his adventure; but from others the contrary. Time has rendered them obscure.

I was obligingly permitted to look into the town-records of Berlin; and if the reader is desirous, like myself, to learn customs and manners, rather from actual and familiar details, than from the arbitrary epithets, and descriptive arts, of those who treat of them, he will think

some extracts from these records acceptable. It is my wish that he should see things, as often as possible, for himself: "The traveller into a fo-"reign country," says Lord Bacon, "knows more "by the eye, than he that stayeth at home can "by the relation of the traveller."—It is desirable that the stayer at home should be placed, when it is convenient, in the situation of the traveller.

The first town-meeting in Berlin was held on the 13th of June, 1785, at which General Selah Hart was chosen moderator and treasurer; Sylvester Wells, town-clerk; Jonathan Belding, collector of state taxes; and General Selah Hart, Daniel Mather and Elias Berkley, selectmen.

At the annual meeting, held on the 1st day of December, 1786, Amos Hosford was chosen moderator, and Roger Riley, also in the commission of the peace, town-clerk and treasurer.

"At the same meeting, Amos Peck, Noah "Stanley and Selah Savage, were chosen se-"lectmen, to order the *prudentials* of the town, "for the year ensuing."

At this meeting, also, were chosen six grand-jurors, six tything men, nine listers, twenty-one surveyors of highways, three town-collectors, seven fence-viewers, three key-keepers,

eight hay-wards, one leather-sealer, two sealers of dry measures, one sealer of weights, one sealer of liquid measures, one inspector of lumber, and four constables, in all seventy-three officers.

In town-meeting, on the 31st May, 1797, it was voted, that the price of labour, for repairing highways, should be 3s. in the spring, and 2s. found, in the fall, during the pleasure of the town.

April 7, 1800, a committee was appointed, to collect the information requested by the Reverend Mr. Trumbull, for his second volume of the History of Connecticut.

" At the same meeting, 2 dollars 50 cents " was voted unto Jesse Hart, for making a cof- " fin for Ezekiel Clark."

" At the same meeting, 7 mills on the dollar " was voted on the present *list*, payable into " the treasury by the first day of April next.

" *Voted*, that the town will do something for " Major Richardson, towards his expenses in " taking care of the boy that shot his hand off.

" At the same meeting, Captain Bernard, " Ezra Scovell, Jonathan Hubbard, esquire, " and Oliver Peck, junior, were appointed a " committee, to make full inquiry into the situ- " ation of Major Richardson's apprentice, that " had his hand wounded, whether the town

" ought to bear part or all the expense; and " make report to the adjourned meeting, in " April next.

" At the same, was voted, that this town will " oppose the petition preferred to the assembly " at their last session, by a committee appoint- " ed from Middletown, respecting cutting a " road through their town.

" *Voted*, and the selectmen are hereby em- " powered, to purchase what plank is necessary " for the bridges.

" Jabez Lankton and Seth Goodrich were " appointed rate-makers for the year ensuing.

" 2 cents and 5 mills granted for highway " tax.

" At an adjourned meeting, held on the 27th April, 1807,

" *Voted*, that the selectmen inspect Solo- " mon Squires's bill for keeping Ruth Crow, " when unwell; and allow him something, if they " think best.

" *Voted*, that the committee formerly appoint- " ed to look into Major Richardson's claim on " this town, are hereby reappointed for the said " service. Esquire North is excused from " serving as one of the said committee, and " Esquire Hooker is appointed in his room.

" *Voted*, that a further tax of three mills on " the dollar is granted to defray the charge of " the town, for the present year.

" *Voted*, that the selectmen are hereby em-
" powered to pay what they think is right to Mr.
" Beckley, as damages, as a compensation for
" his horse breaking his leg by a bad bridge.

" *Voted*, that hogs may run at large, through
" this year, on their being well yoked, and a
" good ring in their nose."

The following is a census of the town of Berlin, for the year 1801 :

Males in parish of Kensington	380		
Females	377		
Negroes			7
		757	
Males in New Britain	436		
Females	506		
Negroes			4
		942	
Males in Worthington	495		
Females	497		
Negroes			11
		992	
		2691	22
Total of Negroes		22	
Total		2713	

There are many persons of great age in Berlin. The number of poor, relieved by the town, is not more than four; and that of all the poor or paupers is not more than five. The amount of the town taxes for this year is seventy thousand cents, or seven hundred dollars. There are thirteen school districts, each of which has a school, within the town. The schools have about forty scholars each; except one, which is smaller. Five of the schools are in the society or parish of Worthington. The church of this society was built in 1774. It is a congregational church, and contains an organ, given twelve years since, by a Mr. Jedidiah Norton. Organs are not rejected by the congregationalists; but, only a very few of their churches possess them, on account of their cost. The clergyman of this society receives four hundred dollars per annum.

Berlin has become a place of some notoriety, partly on account of a tin-manufactory which has been established here. Its founder was one Paterson, a native of Ireland; and though it soon fell into many hands, it was long confined to Berlin. At present, however, the number of its tin-manufacturers is decreasing, many having scattered themselves through the towns below, and others having emigrated to the southward. One of those in Berlin employs sixty hands during the summer

season. In the winter, he removes to Philadelphia, for the extension of his trade. The mode in which the wares are disposed of is that of peddling and barter. They are carried inside and outside of small waggons, of a peculiar and uniform construction, on journies of great length, and are to be met with in all directions. From Philadelphia, they cross the Alleghany Mountains, and are probably seen on the Mississippi. They go into Canada, and vend their wares in Montreal and Quebec.

CHAPTER XII.

Connecticut—Hartford.

I REACHED Hartford, for the second time, on the first of June. Its distance from Berlin is twelve miles, on a road exceedingly good, carried over an undulating surface, clothed with wood and pasture. Hartford and Berlin are on one of the direct roads from New York to Boston; and there is an excellent road from Hartford to Hudson, a flourishing town on Hudson's river, in the territory of New York.

The situation of Hartford is exceedingly agreeable; the ground is elevated, the streets wide and regular, the houses well built, and in some instances elegant; particularly a small number, which have been built under the direction of Colonel Wadsworth, a gentleman who displays much architectural taste. In all parts of the town, many of the buildings are of brick.

The state-house is a respectable building of red brick, occupying the centre of a large square, or open space. It is somewhat plain in its exterior, especially that front of the edifice which faces the high street; but that which, from the elevation of the ground, overlooks the houses that lie toward the river, and commands the country on the opposite bank, is adorned with a pediment of stone or wood, supported by columns, which spring from the basement story. From the colonnade, which is on the same floor with the chambers appropriated to the members or houses of assembly, the view is extensive and beautiful, composed of the broad and winding stream of the Connecticut, bordered with wide and fertile meadows. On the opposite bank is East Hartford, formerly a part of the same town. The apartments of the state-house are handsome and commodious; and in that appropriated to the upper house of assembly is a full-length picture of General Washington, copied by Mr. Stu-

art from his own picture, possessed by the late Marquis of Lansdown. Of the picture in the state-house, the colours appear to be decaying; and were it otherwise, they must be necessarily seen to disadvantage, surrounded, as the picture is, with curtains of a scarlet, or else crimson colour—for, of which of the two they are, I do not more particularly remember.

A church of large dimensions is building of brick, to be called the church of the First Society; and its site is the same with that of the former church of that society. The interior promises to be very elegant; and it is to be believed that the exterior would have been equally so, but for some injudicious deviations from the original design, which was by Colonel Wadsworth.*

This church is in the high-street; and to the north, in the same street, is a church of wood, of respectable architecture and dimensions, and ornamented with a spire. This belongs to members of the Church of England. In the same street, also, is the South Church or Meeting-house, already mentioned.

* This building has been since finished. Its belfry is surmounted by a modern cupola, instead of a spire. What is still more modern, and still more worthy of remark, this puritan church contains a pulpit of which the furniture is of green velvet, with cords of green and gold, fancifully entwined round the supporting columns. 1809.

In other parts of the town are two meeting-houses, one belonging to quakers, and the other to *baptists*, more properly called anabaptists. In the western, or champaign part of the town, there is a second society or parish, called the *west*, in which there is one presbyterian or congregational church.

Hartford is a county-town, and gives its name to the county. The *city* may contain from four to five hundred houses, and is included in the first society or parish, or what a stranger necessarily calls the *town*. The town, however, is six miles square.* The city was incorporated in the

* The danger of attempting to reform this language, by substituting *township* for *town*, may appear in the words of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, as we meet with it in his account of *Stonning-town* (Stonington) in this state: "*Ce* township *est long de quinze* "*milles sur huit. La* ville *contient de douze a treize cents* "*habitants de tout age.*" Here, an English translator, if he should have escaped rendering *ville* by *city*, would say, "The *township* is fifteen miles long, by eight broad. "The *town* contains from twelve to thirteen hundred souls." But, in the language of New England, the passage will stand thus: "The *town* is fifteen miles long, &c. "The *village* contains from twelve to thirteen hundred "souls." The duke should therefore have said, *cette ville*, and *le village*. The *town*, according to the American Gazetteer, contained, in 1790, six places of public worship, and 5,648 inhabitants; of which numbers, neither are too great for an area of a hundred and twenty

year 1784, and the corporation consists of a mayor, aldermen, common-council and freemen.

Hartford is the original chief town and seat of government of the colony of Connecticut;* and even since the union with that of Newhaven, it has still been essentially the metropolis.

In 1638, when the first public tax was levied in the colony, and regularly apportioned among the four towns in which the colony then consisted, Hartford paid the largest share. The total amount was 550*l.* of which Agawam, now called Springfield, and now within the territory of

Massachusetts, paid	£86	16	0
Wethersfield,	124	0	0
Windsor,	158	2	0
Hartford,	251	2	0†
	£550	0	0

square miles, and this, from the data afforded by the duke, must be nearly the superficial contents of the town. See *Voyage dans les Etats Unis d'Amerique, fait en* 1795, 1796 *et* 1797. Tome V, page 129.

* According to a modern History of New England, the first court held in Connecticut was held at *Wethersfield;* but this is erroneous; it was at Hartford. See *Statutes of Connecticut, Holmes's American Annals, Trumbull's History of Connecticut* and *MS Records of Connecticut.*

† Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Book I. Ch. vi.

This year, the ratable property of the town is valued, in the *grand list*, at $122,540 64
Windsor, 63,701 74
Wethersfield, 77,428 50*

Newhaven, which is in some degree a co-metropolis, a rank which she owes to her having been the capital of the colony to which she gave name, while that colony was distinct from the colony of Connecticut. The general assembly holds its October session at Newhaven. The ratable property of this town, all deductions made, has this year amounted to 107,311 dollars and 38 cents.

In the town of Hartford there are kept two coaches, two phaetons, ten *coachees*, and three other four-wheeled carriages on springs, and one hundred and ninety single-horse chairs or chaises, of various value.

Of houses occupied as shops, there are twenty-two of three stories, thirty-eight of two, and fifty-eight *and a half* of one.

The number of sheep exceeds twelve hundred.

* Since 1638, the geographical magnitude of the three towns has been greatly reduced; but I believe that each has still within its limits all the settled lands which it contained in that year.

Of the progress of wealth, luxury and population, the following number of chaises, and gold and silver watches, returned for the town and county of Hartford respectively, between the years 1796 and 1804, will afford some data. They are taken from the archives in the treasurer's office :

	Chaises.		*Gold Watches.*		*Silver Watches.*	
Year.	*Town.*	*County.*	*Town.*	*County.*	*Town.*	*County.*
1796	57	243	28	47	130	524
1797	69	265	46	60	116	577
1798	73	286	44	62	128	630
1799	77	309	43	77	143	676
1800	91	352	47	72	151	737
1801	93	376	52	71	151	752
1802	101	422	56	76	144	758
1803	132	492	59	85	161	810
1804	132	537	55	90	212	953*

Two newspapers are printed weekly in Hartford, of which one is an adherent of *federalism*, and the other of its opposite.† The first is called the Connecticut Courant, and the second, the American Mercury. Mr. Oliver Cook is the principal bookseller; and Messrs. Hudson

* For the number of chaises in the county, and for those of the watches in town and county, in this year, see Appendix, No. I.

† There are now three newspapers. The new one, called the Connecticut Mirror, and devoted to the *federal* cause, is edited by Theodore Dwight, Esq. 1809.

and Goodwin the most extensive printers. The Connecticut Courant is from their press, as are also a handsome edition of the Statutes of Connecticut, and Dr. Trumbull's History of Connecticut. There are one or two other booksellers' shops, or shops where books at least are sold.

There is here, as indeed there very generally is, even in the remote societies and towns of the state, a public library. This is not a *circulating library*, of which the property is private, but common property, and purchased by contribution. To speak generally, the number of books, in the respective town or society-libraries, is very small; but they afford, according to a writer, whom I have already often quoted, "a sufficient collection, in the various branches of literature, and particularly in sound morality and divinity. These libraries," he continues, "are placed under the direction of the best informed members of the society, and among them, with great propriety, we always find the minister. Nothing, therefore, that is hurtful to the peace, to regularity, to morals or to religion, ever finds its way into these collections. Thus guarded, the people have an opportunity of treasuring up much useful knowledge, in addition to the stock gained at school; and thus of sweetening and enliven-

" ing the journey of life, by amusements useful, " pleasant and substantial."*

Besides the ordinary district-schools, Hartford has a grammar-school, endowed out of a legacy of 1,324*l.* bequeathed in the year 1657, by Governor Hopkins, " as an encouragement, in these " foreign plantations, of bringing up hopeful " youths, both at the grammar-school and col- " lege." In 1664, this legacy was equally divided between the grammar-schools of New-haven and Hartford.†

In one of the upper apartments of the state-house is a museum, which the possessor is suffered to keep there, on condition of giving free admittance to the members of the assembly, at their several sessions. The collection is very small. By favour of the assembly, the original charter of Charles the Second is temporarily placed among the rarities. There is also a head or bust of stone, of rude Indian sculpture. It is a flat stone, exhibiting a bust in profile, with an addition of some paint about the mouth, cheek and eyes. The Indians are wont to help out, with rude efforts of art, any stone or other substance, in the natural form of which they discover a

* Dwight's Oration, page 12.

† American Universal Geography. Boston, 1805.

degree of similitude to any figure, as of a limb, a human face, or animal body; and this head, in the museum at Hartford, is apparently of this original. Such objects, half art and half nature, are sometimes their idols; and this may once have been an idol. In the museum, there is also a meteorological diary, kept at Hartford, in the year 1799, in which the greatest heat appears to have occurred on the fifth of July, when the mercury stood at 95°; and the greatest cold on the fifteenth of January, when it was at 16° below zero.

The port of Hartford, though it communicates but inconveniently with the sea, is yet well situated for the command of at least a portion of the inland trade. Here is the natural place of deposit for all the commodities which descend the Connecticut; and from this place, according to the speculations of some writers, the countries on the upper banks are to receive their foreign commodities: a tract of country, it is said, of eight thousand two hundred and forty square miles, will probably throw its commerce within a few years into the city of Hartford.

But, these expectations, as I believe, are illusive. If Hartford, or even Middletown, were either of them in all strictness the natural emporium of these countries, still, other causes, of a na-

ture well adapted to govern the operations of commerce, would probably intervene. The actual trade of the upper countries is centered either in Boston or New York. Their commodities descend the Connecticut; but they are consigned to one or the other of these ports. Boston and New York are not only advantageously situated as sea-ports, but they possess capital, and are able to give credit; and in point of fact, the country-trader, on the upper banks of the Connecticut, usually owes his commercial existence to this credit. With respect to Boston, it is to be recollected, that the course of the Connecticut is parallel to the coast on which she is seated, and at an average distance of little more than a hundred miles; and, on the west side of the Green Mountains, the trade is powerfully diverted to Hudson's river, and by that communication to New York.

If any port in Connecticut could promise itself to take the place of Boston and New York in this regard, that of New London is apparently the best entitled so to do; and its communication with the Connecticut is short and easy. Even New London, however, can scarcely indulge such a hope; and it is, in my own apprehension, more within the sphere of probability, that there should one day be cut a canal, between Boston and Hartford, or between Boston

and some other point on the Connecticut, than that the commercial visions of Hartford should be ever realized. The trade, at present subsisting between Boston and the banks of the Connecticut, and further westward, is prosecuted by land carriage. As to Hartford, she must content herself with the increased and increasing trade of her immediate vicinity. She is herself supplied with European merchandise from Boston and New York.

To a pottery and an oil-mill, may be added a paper-mill, in the list of manufactories in Hartford. A woollen manufactory was a few years ago attempted to be established; but without success.

Hartford has a bank, incorporated in the year 1792, of which the capital stock is one hundred thousand dollars, held in two hundred and fifty shares, of four hundred dollars each, of which no person or persons, or body politic and corporate, the state of Connecticut excepted, may hold at any time more than thirty shares. The bank is authorised to offer annually for sale, additional shares, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, till the capital stock shall be five hundred thousand dollars.

In 1800, the city and town of Hartford contained five thousand three hundred and forty-seven inhabitants, including slaves. It is said

that a register of deaths, kept for ten years successively, in the first society, has exhibited an average annual mortality of one for every sixty-five inhabitants.

Negroes and mulattoes are numerous in Hartford, of whom some are slaves, but the greater part are free. The number of slaves in the county of Hartford, in the year 1800, was sixty-seven. Of the free negroes and mulattoes, many are honest and industrious, and some earn a comfortable living; but too large a number are idle and dissipated. It is to be remembered, in extenuation, that in a white community, men of their description must always form a separate and depressed class, robbed of many of the usual hopes and motives that sustain and influence others. As to more innocent and *elegant* hilarities, these people, from the natural cheerfulness of their disposition, indulge in them with freedom. They have frequent dances, routs and galas; and I am assured that mistresses of families find *cards of invitation*, to these gaieties, addressed to their domestics, and stuck, if not in card-racks, at least in *plate-racks*, and similar articles of kitchen-furniture.

The first English adventurers are said to have established themselves here in 1635; but a Dutch fort, or fortified factory or trading-house, had been built near the same spot a short

time before. Of this fort, called sometimes Fort Hope, and sometimes the Hirse of Good Hope, some small remains are still visible. The site is a point of land, within the city of Hartford, called Dutch Point. Of the site of the city, or of the town, or perhaps of some minute part of the town, the Indian name is said to have been Suckiaug.*

In the year 1640, a purchase was made of the Indians, in behalf of Hartford, of Tunxis, a tract of land including the present towns of Farmington and Southington, and extending westward, as it is described, as far as the country of the Mohawks;† that is, to Hudson's river. The Indians, at the first settlement of Hartford, were very numerous in this town, and in its neighbourhood.

Here, as in Middletown, there is a *little river*. It divides the town, to the southward of the state-house; but though its high and romantic banks have been celebrated, they are now lost among the houses which surround the bridge. Below the bridge is a brewery.

* Dr. Holmes, *American Annals*, vol. i. makes this word *Suckiang;* and he gives the same termination *ang* to several other Indian names. But he has been misled, by errors of copyists, or of the press.

† Trumbull, Hist. Conn. Book I. chapter vii.

Pursuing the margin of the river, to where it enters the Connecticut, we are led to a pottery, and to a horizontal oil-mill, both seated on the latter. The ground in this vicinity is still uncovered with buildings, and exhibits some rural scenery. In returning toward the state-house, we meet with the ancient mansion of Mr. Wyllys, built about the year 1637, for Mr. George Wyllys, an English gentleman of fortune, who migrated in 1638, and was governor of the colony in 1642. The environs of the city are all pleasant; but, toward the water, there are some wet grounds, which it is in the care of the corporation to drain.

In the burying-ground, adjoining the first church, are the following epitaphs:

"*AN Epitaph on Mr. Samuel Stone, deceased*
"*ye* 61 *yeare of his age, July* 20, 1663.

"New England's glory, and her radiant crowne,
"Was he, who, now, on softest bed of downe,
"'Till glorious resurrection-morn appeare,
"Doth safely, sweetly, sleep in Jesus here:
"In Nature's solid art, and reasoning well,
"'Tis known beyond compare he did excell;
"Errors corrupt, by sinnewous dispute,
"He did oppugne, and clearly them confute;
"Above all things, he Christ, his lord, preferred:
"HARTFORD, thy richest jewel's here interred."

The Reverend Mr. Stone was educated at Emmanuel College, in the University of Cambridge, and went to the colonies direct from England.

To some, it may afford gratification to read the inscription, also in this burying-ground, in honour of the Reverend Mr. Elhanan Winchester:

" *The General Convention of the Universal*
" *Churches, in memory of their dear departed*
" *brother, the Rev. Elhanan Winchester, erect-*
" *ed this monumental stone. He died April*
" 18*th*, 1797, *aged* 46 *years :*

" 'Twas thine to preach, with animated zeal,
" The glories of the restitution-morn ;
" When sin, death, hell, the pow'r of Christ shall feel,
" And light, life, immortality, be born."

The last that I shall transcribe affords no inelegant specimen of that style of epitaph which has been called, I think, *the complimentary ;* nor of that versification and sentiment, which have, the one a sweetness, and the other a gallantry, in some degree peculiar to the age which has preceded our own. Other epitaphs of that age will be recalled to the reader's memory by the present:

" SO fair, so young, so innocent, so sweet,
" So ripe a judgment, and so fair a wit,
" Required at least an age in one to meet:
" In her they met; but long they could not stay;
" 'Twas gold too fine to mix without allay."

" *Mrs. Mary Hamlin, the virtuous consort*
" *of Jabel Hamlin, esquire, died Ap. 3d,* 1736,
" *in ye 22d year of her age.*"

CHAPTER XIII.

Connecticut—Hartford Poetry.

IN speaking of the newspapers published in Hartford, I did not forget the attention that may be due to the exhibitions of genius by which they have been occasionally distinguished; but I purposely reserved that head for the substance of a separate chapter.

The exhibitions to which I allude, and of which I shall subjoin some examples, are poetical, political and sportive. They will be found to exhibit, in one direction, a licence of thought, from which the reader of taste and judgment will unquestionably withhold his applause; but they will also be found to afford some very fa-

vourable specimens of diction, versification and happy ridicule. They are generally party productions, and upon their candour and justice we are not always called to decide.

The particular poems, of which I am speaking, were published from time to time, under the uniform title of the *Echo;* and it was the scheme of their composition to burlesque and condemn, as well the language as the sentiments, of the party against which they were directed; that is, the party which has directed the councils of the country for the last seven or eight years. One object, undeniably laudable, was that of holding up to derision a taste for the bombast and the bathos, very prevalent among the writers of the United States. In relating the simplest daily occurrences, it is common to see them using language equally lofty and illiterate; and of such occurrences none seems to arouse their unhappy genius more decidedly than a *thunder-storm.* It was a narrative of this description, that first, according to the authors of the *echoes* "furnished them, "not only with the hint, but with a suitable "subject for the commencement of their plan." The poems appear to have been written between the years 1791 and 1798.

Of the ridiculous in description, and the manner in which it was ridiculed by the *echo*, the following are respectively examples:

"*Boston*, *July* 14, 1791.

"On Tuesday last, about 4 o'clock, P. M. "came on a smart shower of rain, attended with "lightning and thunder, no ways remarkable. "The clouds soon dissipated, and the appear- "ance of the azure vault, left trivial hopes of "further needful supplies from the *uncorked* "*bottles of heaven*. In a few moments the ho- "rizon was again overshadowed, and an almost "impenetrable gloom mantled the face of the "skies. The wind frequently shifting from one "point to another, wafted the clouds in various "directions, until at last they united in one "common centre, and shrouded the visible globe "in thick darkness. The attendant lightning, "with the accompanying thunder, brought forth "from the treasures that embattled elements to "awful conflict, were extremely vivid, and "amazing loud. Those buildings that were "defended by electric rods, appeared to be "wrapped in sheets of livid flame, and a flood "of the pure fire rolled its burning torrents "down them with alarming violence. The majes- "tic roar of disploding thunders, now bursting "with a sudden crash, and now wasting the rum- "bling ECHO of their sounds in other lands,

" added indescribable grandeur to the sublime
" scene. The windows of the upper regions ap-
" peared as thrown wide open, and the trembling
" cataract poured impetuous down. More sa-
" lutary showers, and more needed, have not
" been experienced this summer. Several pre-
" vious weeks had exhibited a melancholy sight:
" the verdure of fields was nearly destroyed;
" and the patient husbandman almost expe-
" rienced despair. Two beautiful rainbows, the
" one existing in its native glories, and the
" other a splendid reflection of primitive colours,
" closed the magnificent picture, and presented
" to the contemplative mind, the angel of mer-
" cy, clothed with the brilliance of this irradi-
" ated arch, and dispensing felicity to assembled
" worlds.

" It is not unnatural to expect that the thun-
" der storm would be attended with some da-
" mage. We hear a barn belonging to Mr.
" Wythe, of Cambridge, caught fire from the
" lightning, which entirely consumed the same,
" together with several tons of hay," &c.

Hartford, August 8, 1791.

ON Tuesday last, great Sol, with piercing eye,
Pursued his journey through the vaulted sky,
And in his car effulgent roll'd his way
Four hours beyond the burning zone of day;

When lo ! a cloud, o'ershadowing all the plain,
From countless pores perspir'd a *liquid* rain,
While from its cracks the lightnings made a peep,
And chit-chat thunders rock'd our fears asleep !
But, soon the vapoury fog dispers'd in air,
And left the azure blue-ey'd concave bare ;
Even the last drop of hope, which dripping skies
Gave for a moment to our straining eyes,
Like *Boston Rum*, from heaven's *junk bottles* broke,
(Lost all the corks,) and vanish'd into smoke.

But, swift from worlds unknown, a fresh supply
Of vapour dimm'd the great horizon's eye ;
The crazy clouds, by shifting zephyrs driven,
Wafted their courses through the high-arch'd heaven,
Till pil'd aloft, in one stupendous heap,
The seen and unseen worlds grew dark, and nature 'gan
to weep.
Attendant lightnings stream'd their tails afar,
And social thunders wak'd ethereal war,
From dark deep pockets brought their treasur'd store,
Embattled elements increas'd the roar—
Red crinkling fires expended all their force,
And tumbling rumblings steer'd their headlong course.

* * * * * *

N. B. At Cambridge town, the self-same day,
A barn was burnt well fill'd with hay ;
Some say the lightning turn'd it red ;
Some say the thunder struck it dead ;
Some say it made the cattle stare ;
And some, it kill'd an aged mare ;—
But we expect the truth to learn,
From Mr. Wythe, who own'd the barn.

Much of the humour of these productions necessarily arising out of local and temporary allusion, to things, persons and events, the extracts, capable of giving pleasure to distant readers must be limited. It also increases the difficulty with myself, that in order to relish the *echo*, it is necessary to give with it the matter *echoed;* and this done, the extracts become too bulky. In the following extract of an *echo* which appeared in March, 1792, there is certainly much spirit. The original was an essay, by a Mr. Brackenridge, *On the Indian War*, and began with the words *I can easily excuse*, &c.

I GRANT my pardon to that dreaming clan,
Who think that Indians have the rights of man;
Who deem the dark-skinn'd chiefs, those miscreants base!
Have souls like ours, and are of human race;
And say the scheme so wise, so nobly plann'd,
For rooting out those serpents from the land,
To kill their squaws, their children yet unborn,
To burn their wigwams, and pull up their corn;
By sword and fire to purge the unhallow'd train,
And kindly send them to a world of pain,
Is vile, unjust, absurd :—as if *our* God
One single thought on Indians e'er bestow'd,
To them his care extends, or even knew,
(Before Columbus told him,) where they grew!
O could I, pois'd on Observation's wings,
Point whence the Indian's ruthless temper springs,

That ruthless temper which, like bear unchain'd,
Is proof to kindness, nor by fear restrain'd;
Could that vast knowledge, which my skull contains,
Once find its passage from my wilder'd brains,
And spring to view, with recollection fraught,
Of all I've ever dreamt, or ever thought;
Then would I tell of homicides so dire,
Of tom'hawk, scalping-knife, and torturing fire;
Of wicked pole at the Miami town,
Which Harmar went on purpose to pull down;
While, rous'd to pity by the potent strain,
Humanity herself would grow humane;
The soul would shudder, and the cheek turn pale,
And uncork'd feelings foam like bottled ale!
Not for those soul-less heathen of the wood,
But Christian folk of kindred flesh and blood,
Pity, meek habitant of yonder sky,
Wipes the full tear-drop from her dewy eye,
As, from her throne of never fading light,
O'er western worlds she bends her anxious sight!
Thy *lambs*, Kentucky! claim her darling care,
Expos'd to all the miseries of war;
Unkindly left, without defence or stay,
To savage wolves a weak unshielded prey;
Those savage wolves, in cruelty grown old,
Who torture prisoners when their blood is cold.
All this,—while on our part, so mild and good,
No one e'er thought of spilling Indian blood!

But, we must now turn to passages, of which the poetical merit is often not defective, but in which there occurs the license already intimated: it consists in scriptural allusions and

parodies, of any thing but a serious and reverential description, and such as an English public, of all ranks, persuasions and morals, will unanimously denominate profane. They incessantly recur in these productions, and present themselves, not as *echoes*, but as original features. The following is an example:

—BUT LIBERTY cheers up this vale of woe,
With fallen angels fills the world below,
Makes us feel tuneful as the toad of even,*
And bears us *poose-back*† to the joys of heav'n!

* * * * * * * *

Long since, thy gentile sons, O Athens! paid
Their pure devotions to the sainted maid,
Her fane adorn'd with richest spoils of war,
And heap'd their off'rings round her splendid car;
And, what must yield her goddess-ship delight,
Four thousand men in chains, (a pretty sight,)
Around her shrine, with steps sedate and even,
Solemn as saints who've miss'd the road to heav'n,
In pairs advanc'd, as Noah's cattle mov'd
"From the green pastures and the meads they lov'd;"
While the good sire, conspicuous at their head,
In Sunday wig, the strange procession led,
And Shem and Ham and Japhet in a row,
With goads and cudgels, clos'd the goodly show,
Sore vex'd at Captain Noah's plan to roam
And leave their sweethearts and their wives at home,

"* Commonly called the *tree-toad*."

† *Picapack*. The phrase in the text is from *papoose*, a word by which, as it is said, some of the Indians mean a *child*.

Not relishing a pleasure-voyage with hogs,
Skunks, toads and rattle-snakes and *prairie dogs*;
Their lives at stake, their property afloat,
Raw hands on board, no compass and no boat!

Moses, beholding the land of Canaan, affords a simile under which to paint a political opponent:

LIKE Moses on Mount Pisgah's height,
Through whey and rennet darts his eye,
And sees *new-milk* beyond the sky.

In a word, among other remarkable passages of this kind, may be found—"First-born de-" stroyed—Hand-writing on the wall—Ghost " of Samuel—Gideon and the men of Suc-" coth—Gog and Magog—Levite and his concu-" bine—Nebuchadnezzar's golden image—" Pharaoh and his plagues—Quails and manna " —Darkness in Egypt—Image of Dagon mu-" tilated by the ark—Dishite, a word derived " from the Hebrew—David and Uriah—Elijah's " little cloud—Elijah in the wilderness—" Builders of Babel—Balaam's ass—Dispersion " at Babel—Burning of Gomorrah—Adam and " Eve become tailors—Adam in petticoats," Noah's ark is in particular favour; and the fol-

lowing is a second specimen of its celebration in verse :

> THUS, when old Noah op'd his gate,
> And advertis'd to take in freight,
> Swift, at the all-inviting sound,
> All kinds of cattle throng'd around,
> From which the patriarch cull'd the best,
> And let the deluge take the rest.

Lastly, to hold forth a party of political opponents to contempt, it is insinuated, that at a convivial meeting, the tavern-bill was left unpaid ; and this charge is versified, with the embellishment of an allusion to Isaiah, ch. lv. 1.

> AT Wallingford it first broke out,
> And show'd itself in noise and rout ;
> Men grew voracious, ate like swine,
> Drank freely *different sorts* of *wine*,
> O'ercharg'd, and snor'd till break of day,
> Then quitted, *but forgot to pay ;*
> Following the prophet's sage advice,
> To *buy their milk without a price.*

It is not peculiar, however, to the poets of Hartford, nor of Connecticut, to fall into the practice of which the evidence is before us. Scriptural texts and allusions are used continually, throughout the whole of the United

States. It had its origin with the puritans, and by them and their descendants it appears to have been spread.* So general has it become, that

*The following *bon mot* has been lately pronounced by a Boston critic (*Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*) to be "no bad specimen of *puritanical humour*:" Dr. Mather, of Boston, one of the early puritans, had acquired the reputation of constantly preaching hospitality, but never practising it. The Reverend Mr. Ward, another puritan, settled on the Connecticut, and an old *chum* of the doctor's, resolved on putting the unfavourable part of this character to the test, and accordingly went to his house in disguise. After being reproachfully ordered from the doctor's door, and denied, one after another, lodging, bread, meat and money, "Sir, since," said Ward, "you will not give lodgings, "nor money, nor food, nor drink to me, I pray for your "advice; will you direct me to a stew?" The doctor cried out, "Vagrant of all vagrants! the curse of God "will fall on thee; thou art one of the non-elects! Dost "thou suppose, villain, I am acquainted with bad houses? "What dost thou want at a stew?" Mr. Ward replied, "I am hungry, weary, thirsty, moneyless and almost "naked; and Solomon, the wisest king the Jews ever "had, tells me and you, *that a whore will bring a man to "a morsel of bread at the last*." Now, Dr. Mather suspected a deception, and cried, "*Tu es Ward-donus vel Diabolus*."* Mr. Ward laughed, and the doctor took him in and gave him all he wanted; and Mr. Ward preached for the doctor next day, both morning and evening.

*i. e. "Either you are *Ward*, or you are the *Devil*.

scarcely the most common-place remark, or the most simple narrative, goes to the press without something of the kind. If, for example, an unusual quantity of fish be taken, every newspaper will convey the intelligence under the title of *the miraculous draught*.*

In seasoning a jest, or composing a drinking-toast, (that favourite exercise of the inventive genius of these countries,) scripture, scriptural phrase, scripture history, or scripture doctrine, is the common resource. Of all this, some examples may incidentally present themselves in the succeeding pages, but I shall also produce a few, in direct illustration.

At Toringford, in Connecticut, on the 4th of March, 1807, there was drank this sentiment, and in this language, "The state of "Connecticut—may *regeneration* become ge-

* An example accidentally presents itself, and at the same time enables me to afford the reader some account of the *streaked bass fishery* on the Connecticut shore:

SALEM, *November* 30.

Miraculous draught of fishes.—The *streaked bass* fisheries on the Connecticut shore have been as successful as those on the *banks*. On the 9th, 10th, and 11th of this month, the number taken in four seines, in Stonington, amounted to 40,300. On the 12th, 10,000, and on the 13th, 18,000; making a grand total of 68,300 bass, which averaged at 5lb. each, amounts to 341,500lbs.

" neral, where it is so much preached!" and at Wallingford, about the same time, the following:—" Connecticut amongst her sister states in " Congress—*O Lucifer, son of the morning,* " *how art thou fallen!*" More recently, some of the opposite party took occasion to drink to " His Excellency Governor Jonathan Trum- " bull—*a star in the east*—whither *wise men* " *may go to learn.*"—The second toast, as appears from a commentator, is " a lamentation " over the departed glory of the state, because " our representatives in congress voted for Co- " lonel Burr, instead of Mr. Jefferson: it might " perhaps have been a just subject of lamenta- " tion," he adds, " that they were reduced to " the necessity of voting for either." The third toast is intended in compliment to Governor Trumbull, and the whole of New England, (or the *eastern* states,) on occasion of their respective efforts in resistance of the continuance and execution of the celebrated *embargo* acts.

In New York, I have seen an electioneering hand-bill, proclaiming the *great resurrection*, and calling the federalists to the *last judgment;* and, of this *jeu d'esprit*, the language was a cento of scriptural phrases. In Philadelphia, the following paragraph was printed in a newspaper, entitled the Aurora, on the day which terminated the presidency of General Washington:—

" ' *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart*
" ' *in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salva-*
" ' *tion,*' was the pious ejaculation of a man who
" beheld a flood of happiness rushing in upon
" mankind; if ever there was a time that would
" licence the reiteration of the exclamation, that
" time is now arrived; for the man who is the
" source of all the misfortunes of our country,
" is this day reduced to a level with his fellow-
" citizens, and is no longer possessed of power
" to multiply evils upon the United States. If
" ever there was a period for rejoicing, this is
" the moment! Every heart, in unison with the
" freedom and happiness of the people, ought
" to beat high with exultation, that the name of
" Washington, from this day, ceases to give cur-
" rency to political iniquity, and to legalize cor-
" ruption! A new æra is now opening upon us,
" an æra that promises much to the people; for
" public measures now stand upon their own
" merits, and nefarious projects can no longer
" be supported by a name. When a retrospect
" is taken of the Washington administration,
" for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest
" astonishment, that a single individual could
" have cankered the principles of republicanism
" in an enlightened people, and should have
" carried his designs against the public liberty,
" so far, as to have put in jeopardy its very ex-

" istence; such, however, are the facts, and " with these staring us in the face, this day " ought to be a jubilee in the United States."

If we should now inquire into the occasion of a practice, which, in England, the most vulgar and least reverent critic will condemn, but which, in the United States, is followed without ill design, and beheld without reproof, we shall find it, not where we should naturally seek it, in the public contempt of revealed religion, but rather, in what we may venture to call a too familiar acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, or at least a too limited one with profane authors.

It is the province of the imagination to employ itself upon those images which it is the province of another faculty of the mind to store. It operates by combining, not by creating. It takes that which it finds.

But, the imagination will not always be serious; and if it sometimes deals in spirituals, it will also sometimes deal in seculars. Variety of subject, however, insures no variety of image, from him whose imagination is directed by a single course of study. The best that he can do, is to turn and shift his all, and adapt it as well as he can to the occasion. It is thus that some poor actor, now in tragedy, and now in farce, employs his only wig, this moment to command

our gravity, and the next to provoke us to laughter. At first, it is set straight on his head; next, it is turned inside out; and next, hind part before. One moment, the curls fall solemn on his shoulder, and another, they dangle round his nose.

But, it is not always to a limited reading, and much less to any extraordinary addiction to theological reading or study, that we are to attribute, in the circle of writers referred to, the endless use and abuse of scriptural and pulpit image and phraseology. Much proceeds from *habits* of *quotation*, *imitation* and *parody;* habits which exist in the most inconceivable excess among too many of the writers of the United States. To use any words that the memory can be made to supply, rather than to task their faculties for original terms and modes of expression, is at present their established practice: in consequence, they often quote that which from being quoted becomes the most risibly trivial. The habit is acquired at college, and the offenders confirm one another in its support. The youth of the passing day may fairly offer in his defence, that what he does, is done under the example of most of those, to whom it is natural he should look up as authorities in politics, divinity and letters.

There is a third source of the evil, and this is in false taste; in a ravenous appetite for the figurative; in a vitiated appetite for tumidity and inflation, whether of American or European growth. Criticism and practice, in these cases, go hand in hand; and what follies the one commits, the other praises.

Now, a taste for the tumid and inflated, a false taste and ravening for the florid and figurative, enforce a writer to the temptation of gathering up and misapplying that imagery which is met with in the Holy Scriptures. His aim is to aggrandize his subject, and he is neither judicious nor delicate in the means.

The last consideration has a relationship, in a particular manner local, to a fourth source of the evil; and which fourth source consists in an extravagant admiration of political visions, and political idols. Of this position, which might be sustained by voluminous evidence, other chapters than the present will contain some unequivocal proofs. Into the cause, it is not necessary to inquire; but the fact, combined with a false taste for the sublime, satisfactorily accounts for the impressing of the Holy Scriptures into the political service. The worship or the god must be exalted, at all risks, and at all expense.

To this remark, even the imagery in the following passage, is subject; but we have here

an example, not to censure, but to praise. The imagery is scriptural; but, in its application, there is nothing, either of that levity, or that extravagance, of which, among other particulars, we have seen reason to complain. It elevates the subject of discourse, but not more than it is natural, and therefore allowable in a partisan to do. It occurs in an oration, delivered on a day of rejoicing, on occasion of the restoration of commerce, at the termination of the *embargo:*

"Commerce, peace, and federalism, are "again returning to bless our country. Fede- "ralism, which has for more than eight years "been banished from the ark of the constitu- "tion; and finding no rest to the sole of her "foot—her nature unchanged by wandering "over the dark chaotic mass of a democratic "world—returns at length, *and lo! in her "mouth an olive branch.*"*

Returning more strictly to the poets of Hartford, I conclude my chapter with two extracts, illustrative at once of their verses and their opinions. The first is a character of Hartford, which they put into the mouth of their enemies; and the second, a character of the state, which they utter from their own:

* Address of D. W. Lewis, Esq. 10th June, 1809, at Geneva, in the county of Ontario, New York.

I.

HARTFORD! curst corner of the spacious earth!
Where each dire mischief ripens into birth;
Whence dark cabals against our statesmen rise
And spread a black'ning cloud o'er eastern skies:
Whose impious sons, by decency unsway'd,
Nor check'd by prudence, nor by fear dismay'd,
Each solemn thing have turn'd to constant jest,
From John Monier to Boston's civic feast;
From Pokahontas' breed, prime lords of all,
To Hancock glorious at his Negro ball:
For still proud Echo wakes the tuneful strain,
And ****** pun, and C****** prints in vain!
Hartford! detested more by faction's race,
Than harden'd sinner hates the call of grace!
Not more the owl abhors meridian light,
Not more the generous steed the camel's sight,
Not more the skulking thief the fatal tree,
Than faction's brood abhor thy sons and thee!

II.

CONNECTICUT!—thou wond'rous state,
Forever firm, forever great!
Oft faction here her tool employs,
And oft we hear a mighty noise,
That government is full of evil,
The nation running to the devil—
The blindest eyes begin to wink,
The thickest skulls begin to think,
The *little ones* are growing big,
"The tail has got on t'other pig;"—

But when the hour of trial's o'er,
These short liv'd tempests cease to roar,
Sedition's vermin sneak from day,
And all goes on *the good old way*—
Still the *old council* keep their seats;
Still wisdom there with honour meets;
Still *Granger* keeps his humble station,
Just at the tail of *nomination*;
Prepar'd, as seasons come about,
Once more to slip and tumble out.
Here, mid the vast and wild uproar,
Which rends the earth's remotest shore,
This small, this blest, secluded state,
Still meets unmov'd the blasts of fate—
Here justice still extends her sway,
Here virtue sheds her blissful ray,
Churches our villages adorn,
And infidels are laugh'd to scorn:
Almighty God, still let us lie,
Safe as the apple of thine eye;
Still, still protect our happy land,
Within the hollow of thine hand!

CHAPTER XIV.

Connecticut—Theatrical Prohibition.

THERE is no play-house in Hartford, nor in any other place in Connecticut, nor are any *theatrical shows*, where money is received for entrance, allowed by law.

Wits, however, as it should seem, are destined to be wicked, and this, whatever may be the amount of their political and even spiritual orthodoxy; for, about the year 1793, and subsequently, the poets of Hartford appear to have made tolerably free with all the ancient notions of their countrymen, upon the subject of the stage.

In October, 1791, a town-meeting was held in Boston, at which there was a struggle for the preservation of the theatre in that metropolis. At that meeting, a Mr. Samuel Adams, a gentleman of the anti-federal party, took the part of a decided enemy. The friends of the drama refused to hear him; and this event was indignantly and most pathetically deplored by one of his admirers. But, at Hartford, the part of the eulogium which it contained was *echoed* in these verses:

LONG may our souls the fond remembrance *prove*,
How, with a bosom crowded full of love,
To blast a wicked *stage* his voice he rear'd
And yet that thundering voice could not be heard!
With equal toil, half-burn'd with Etna's heat,
Thus strives Enceladus to find his feet,
While o'er his back, convuls'd with dreadful pain,
A fiery deluge floats along the plain;
Around th' affrighted boobies stand and stare,
And ask, what dreadful creature tumbles there!

Was he in fault, that he should wish t' impart
The smoking feelings of his red-hot heart?
Perhaps religion would have cloth'd the song,
And truth and bombast roll'd the strains along!
Thus when th' Old Dragon op'd his mighty mouth
Out burst a flood of overwhelming froth,
Down the soft tide three unclean spirits float,
Like frogs in semblance, and like frogs in note!
Was he to blame, when, struck by mighty death,
He wish'd, by puffing his expiring breath,
To rase the pillars of a vicious *stage*,
And scatter virtue in his holy rage?
Thus, Samson, when Dalilah cut his hair,
Mutter'd and clank'd his fetters in despair,
When Gaza's nobles fill'd the spacious court,
And laugh'd to see the blinded monster's sport;
When lo! the two-legg'd mammoth rais'd his back,
And down they tumbled with prodigious crack!

The passage here *echoed*, in part, stands in prose as follows:

" You need not wonder that the singular oc-
" currence of the preceding evening at Faneuil-
" hall rushed into my mind. Shall Europe hear,
" Shall our brethren be told, that *Samuel Adams*
" *rose to speak in the midst of his fellow-citi-*
" *zens, and was silenced!*

" That, while others, who were born but in
" season to enjoy the blessings, which he earn-
" ed, were applauded, Samuel Adams *could not*
" *be heard.*

" Richly has he earnt the right to speak, and
" *to be heard!*"

In 1793, a part of the speech of the governor of Massachusetts, was thus returned by the Hartford *echoes:*

LONG since, while Britain, with maternal hand,
Cheer'd the lov'd offspring of Columbia's land;
Ere proud oppression bade that offspring brave
Assert their rights, and scorn the name of slave;
Ere o'er the world had flown my mob-rais'd fame,
And George and Britain trembled at *my* name;
This state, (then province,) pass'd, with wise intent,
An act, *stage-plays*, and such things to prevent:
You'll find it sirs, among the laws sky *blue*,
Made near that time on brooms when witches flew,
That blessed *time*, when law kept wide awake,
Proscribed the faithless, and made quakers quake;
And thus, in terms sublime *I* state the fact,
Runs the preamble of this *precious act.*
Both for preventing, and avoiding, all
Those various evils which would sure befall
Our sober people, and their sober ways,
From interludes, and vile theatric plays;
To wit, all fiddling, fighting, gaming, raking,
Swearing profane, high broils, and sabbath breaking.
This act, so full of wisdom, and so good,
Has now become a law well understood;
Since it has often been confirm'd, you see,
By many a legislature great as *we.*
Yet, notwithstanding this, some chaps uncivil,
Grand emissaries of our foe the devil,
Aliens and foreigners, and actors funny,
Who less esteem our morals than our money;
Even in *our* holy capital, of late,
Have dared insult the majesty of state,

And to exhibit publicly propose,
Stage-plays, and interludes, and heathen shows;
Which, in the garb of *moral lectures* drest,
Of our good, sober manners make a jest!
Yet, so obnoxious to the people's notions,
So strange, so foreign to their constitutions,
That well *I* am convinc'd they never go,
From motives of amusement, to the show;
But, like good, honest folks, with mere intent,
To keep these actors under some restraint.

In 1800, however, the general assembly, unmindful of the voice, either of the nymph or of her bards, very sternly *spoiled their singing;* for it passed an act *to prevent theatrical shows and exhibitions*, of which the following are the words of the preamble: "Whereas theatrical "entertainments tend to the depravation of man-"ners, and impoverishing of the people."

In the interim, during the prevalence of the yellow fever at New York, certain players had scandalized the good people of Hartford with their presence, their play-bills, and their plays; but whether not *in the garb of moral lectures*, I have not particularly learned.—The reader has probably here something approaching to a complete history of the stage in Connecticut.

CHAPTER XV.

Connecticut—General Assembly—Courts of Justice.

THE general assembly, of which the vernal labours were commenced on the election-day, was still in session at my return to Hartford. The members, and all who were in attendance, had their lodgings at the several inns or taverns in the city, at one of which I was myself also, for a few days, an inmate.

The system of the *table d'hote*, or public table, is every where established in the United States; and in this manner we lived at Hartford. The assembly adjourned at one o'clock to dinner, and reassembled at the hour of three. Cider is the beverage at table, and no wine is drank. A member who should neglect his daily attendance, either before or after dinner, would be thought not to earn what are called his *wages*. These wages amount to two dollars per diem, during the sessions; and each member has a further allowance of six cents per mile, for travelling expenses. The assistants, or members

of the upper house receive allowances for their attendance.

When the assembly adjourns for the evening, the members and others again seat themselves at a long table, covered with a table-cloth, and furnished with plates, knives and forks, steaks, fish, pickles, sweet-cake, toast and butter, tea, cider and coffee, of all of which articles every one partakes, and thus makes his *supper*. At an early hour, they retire to bed, in rooms each of which contain four, five, or a greater number of beds. Next morning, the breakfast-table is spread at eight o'clock. The breakfast resembles, in all particulars, the supper; excepting that it is customary, at this meal, to drink coffee, and not tea. At nine, a bell summons the assembly-men to their seats; and the lawyers, employed upon petitions and other affairs, to the bars of the two houses.

In this manner, certainly to be remarked for its simplicity, its frugality, its freedom from costlier luxury, and from every species of dissipation, live the legislators of Connecticut, during the period of their meeting in the metropolis of the republic. Among the persons with whom, under these circumstances, I had a transitory acquaintance, were several of those who were the most distinguished in Connecticut; and Connecticut is by no means behind-hand in the

list of states, in the possession of men of superior qualifications.

In the house of representatives, which I visited more than once, I saw always the strictest decorum and propriety; and in the upper house, when I was present at the hearing of a petition, the appearance and proceedings were entirely respectable.

The doors of the upper house are open only on such occasions as this which I have mentioned. Its legislative proceedings have always the strictest secrecy. No minutes are kept; no arguments nor no votes are made public. The council *concurs*, or *does not concur* with the house of deputies; this is all that is known. Mutual conferences frequently take place; but this is the only exception to the system; a system, which, as I believe, contributes, not less than other usages which have been mentioned, to the stability of this government, or more properly of the men and the principles governing this government: for the stability of a government is one thing, and the stability of an administration is another.

The effect of preserving an entire secrecy as to the proceedings of the fourteen men (the governor, lieutenant-governor, and assistants) in whom is the *veto* in all matters of government and legislation, cannot but be considerable.

Divide et impera; but, here, no division can be accomplished. The council is impenetrable; it is one; it has no weak part, by which it may be entered and subdued. All its acts are the acts of the party; the individual never appears. We know nothing of the display of his talents; nothing of his peculiar shade of sentiment. Nothing is shown to us but unanimity; and whence that unanimity arises we have no means of discovery. It may be that all the members are of one mind; it may be that they obey one direction; it may be that there is a minority always dissatisfied; dissatisfied with the particular acts of its friends, but overawed by the interests of its party. But, it is by assaults upon particular *acts* and particular *men*, upon particular opinions and particular phrases, that all parties are in the end stripped of their popularity; for the great principles which distinguish them, the entire scope of their actions, are almost always out of the view of the multitude. One man is called a fool, and another a knave; an act is called imbecile, or it is called wicked, or it turns out unfortunately; it is these that ruin parties; and there is still another means, and that is, individual superiority, individual ambition, individual worth or wisdom, vice or folly. When individuals are suffered to display themselves at their employment, some discover skill,

and others deficiency; some feebleness, and some strength: each desires, too, to enjoy his own fame and his own reward: he is anxious, less for his party, and more for himself. Now, these are facts, concerning the operation of which upon the commonwealth, politicians will entertain very different views, every one according to his system. One result, however, is certain, that where the individual is out of the question, the party is therefore the more safe. There can be no divisions among the ruling party in Connecticut; because the leaders act as one head; divulge no minor disagreements that may happen among themselves; and lose all subordinate differences of opinion, in the one point upon which they cannot but constantly agree;—the preservation of the party.

Besides the duty of the day, in attending the two sittings of the assembly, there is occasionally a meeting of a political nature, which is to be attended also. The meeting to which I allude is in use in all parts of the United States, and is denominated a *caucus*—but why so denominated, I have found many to inquire, but none to teach. Sometimes, indeed, a desperate attempt is made at etymology, or perhaps only at wit, and *caucus* is for a moment derived from *Cacus*, the Aventinian robber. As far, however, as I am acquainted, no etymology at all is ever seriously

offered. There is less difficulty as to its application.

A *caucus* is a political, and what is in practice the same thing, a party-meeting; but is not a popular meeting. It is an informal, and as it were *unofficial* meeting of the representatives in a legislature, in which, according to some old language, of which I shall presently avail myself at length, they "advise and consult of all such "things as may concern the good of the public," and of what, in their own legislative capacity, it may be proper to do.

As the *caucus* is a meeting of the representatives only, so it is a meeting of all the representatives; or at least, among one body of representatives, there can properly be but one *caucus*: we should be mistaken, however, if we supposed that it is therefore a general meeting, and not, as has been said, a party-meeting.

A *caucus* is a meeting of only the majority of the legislature, for the minority does not give it attendance;—it has meetings of its own.

The minority can by no means attend the *caucus*, because, whatever may be the theory of this meeting, its practical intention is simply and singly that of devising means for supporting the party of which it is composed, and of managing its own affairs. It is in *caucuses* that it is decided, for whom the people shall be instructed

to vote, and by what course of politics the party may be secured. In them, it is ascertained, what the *majority of the party* will and will not do, whom it will and will not support, and what sacrifices must be made, to this man and the other, in order to keep both upon friendly terms. This done, the party, as a party, acts in concert; and, on meeting its opponents in public, is prepared, through a precise knowledge of its own strength, to yield to them, or to crush them, as occasion may render prudent or needful.

I have observed that, the *caucus* is in general use in the United States. It appears that it is no secret, nor no popular nor obscure, assembling of persons, but a meeting of those, to whom, in the several legislatures, the legislation is entrusted. In the mean time, I am not aware that it is provided for or acknowledged, any more by the existing constitution of any of the states, than by that of the United States. The name is in general use; but neither the name, nor the thing, appears to be known to any statute, or public instrument. I have not even found that it is any where represented as an ancient, and anciently constitutional institution. Yet such it is, at least with respect to Connecticut; for, in the ninth article of the Constitution of 1639, the *caucus* will be found distinctly described and provided for, though without a name, and espe-

cially without that felicitous name by which it is now distinguished.* It is there "*ordered*, "*sentenced*, and *decreed*, that the *deputies* shall "have power and liberty to appoint a time and "place of meeting together, before any general "court or assembly, to consult and advise of all "such things, as may concern the good of the "public."

2. The *caucus* is expressly entrusted with the examination of the elections of the deputies. It is to report upon undue returns to the assembly.

3. The *caucus* may impose fines, for disorderly behaviour during its sittings, or for not coming in due time and place according to appointment.

Whether or not the above be the universal and exclusive constitution of the more ancient *caucus*, I cannot pretend to say; but the modern caucuses differ from it in many essential particulars.

The *caucus* (so to call it) as we see it here, is, to the court of legislature or parliament, precisely what a *grand jury* is to a court of justice. The *caucus* of the present day devotes itself to other business, and in no cases confines its meetings to a period antecedent to the meeting of the court or legislature.†

* See *passim*, chap. vii.

† The following is a circular letter, for calling a *caucus* (here styled a *convention*) at Washington. According to the newspapers, a ludicrous parody, signed by

I attended a *caucus*, which was held one evening in the chamber of the council or upper house of assembly; but nothing was done, and almost nothing was said.

Mr. Masters, a member for New York, was "stuck "upon the door of the house, and *behind the speaker's* "*chair*."

"Sir,

"In pursuance of the powers vested in me as pre- "sident of the late convention of republican members "of both houses of congress, I deem it expedient, for "the purpose of nominating suitable and proper charac- "ters for president and vice-president of the United "States at the next *presidential* election, to call a con- "vention of *said* republican members, to meet at the "senate-chamber, on Saturday the 23d inst. at six o'clock "P. M. at which time and place, your personal attend- "ance is requested, to aid the meeting with your in- "fluence, information and talents.

"S. R. BRADLEY.

"*Dated at Washington*,
"19*th January*, 1808."

The above signature is that of General Bradley, a member of the senate of the United States. The object of the *convention* or *caucus*, was to secure the election of Mr. Madison. When it was complained, that a convention of members of both houses of congress could not constitutionally interfere with the election of a president of the United States, it was answered that some elections had been managed in the same manner.

From the government and the legislature, whence the laws proceed, I turn to the courts of justice, where they are administered. The courts, for the county of Hartford, are held in the lower apartments of the state-house.

There are three descriptions of courts of justice held in Connecticut, under the authority of the state, and two under the authority of the United States; of which the territory of this republic composes a district. The courts of the United States are a *district-court*, with a resident judge, and a *circuit-court*, held by the judges of the federate republic. The courts of the state are a *superior-court*, which performs the circuit of the counties; *county-courts*, which belong to the counties respectively, and which are otherwise called *courts of common pleas;* and *courts of probate*, for registering probate of wills and letters of administration, and which are fixed in probate-districts.

A strong disposition prevails, in every one of the states, to render the judges of the United States removable at the pleasure of the prevailing party; for No man, say the lovers of liberty in this part of the world, no man ought to hold the office of a judge, not being at the same time a friend to the measures of the administration. This maxim, though avowed in so many words, has not yet obtained credit enough to overthrow a

contrary provision, inserted in the constitution of the United States; but it is religiously received, as we have seen, in the constitution of Connecticut. Here, the ruling party in the assembly may "call any court or magistrate, "or any other officer or *person* whatever, for "any misdemeanour [which it may please to "impute] or male-administration, to account; "and for [what it may call] just cause, may "fine, displace or remove them, or *deal other-* "*wise*, as the nature of the case shall [to them "seem to] require." The judges of the courts held under the assembly, are therefore all of the ruling party. Meanwhile, the district-judge, who is appointed by the government of the United States, is of the party which predominates in the United States.*

* In what manner this officer is consequently treated by the *federalists*, may be seen from the following advertisement, published in the Connecticut newspapers:

"Preparing for the press, and will shortly be published, "authentic memoirs of the life and character of the Ho- "nourable PIERPOINT EDWARDS, judge of the district- "court for the district of Connecticut. A faithful history "and true character of this singular man is intended. We "all know who appointed him to the office of judge over "the state of Connecticut. His claims to that office, it is "intended, shall also be known and remembered. A full "and authentic account of his proceedings since he be- "came a judge, to this date, is already prepared: and will "show the world many *curiosities* in a court of justice.'

The superior court, which is comprized of a bench of five judges, is a court of law, equity, and errors or appeals, and is held in each county twice in each year.

Each *superior* or state court is held in each county twice in each year, and there is a county-court, also held twice in each year.

The county-court is also a court both of law and equity, and is also held twice in each year. As a court of law, it has power to hear and determine all civil causes, real, personal or mixed, and also all criminal matters, " not extending to " life, limb, banishment, adultery or divorce," and where the punishment does not " extend to " confinement in *Newgate*," excepting only in the crime of horse stealing. In civil cases, where the matter in demand does not exceed the value of seventy dollars, and where the action is on bond or note, given for the payment of money, or bills of credit only, vouched by the witnesses, the hearing and extenuation of the county-court is final; but causes may be removed into the superior court, by writ of error or other customary forms of law. As a court of equity, it has jurisdiction in all suits wherein the matter or thing in demand does not exceed the sum of three hundred and thirty five dollars, and where the suit is not for relief against any judgment given, or cause depending, in the superior court;

and, within the circuit of its own jurisdiction, it may proceed to final judgment and decree, and may enforce the same.

These courts are "*kept* by a judge, with two "or more justices of the quorum, to be appoint- "ed and commissioned for that purpose; any "three of whom have power to hold them;" and with the concurrence of the grand jurors in attendance, may impose and cause to be collected a town or *county-rate*, taxing or rating each town according to the lists of estate, for paying expenses of the county.* They also appoint the county-treasurer.

In case of absence, or of just exceptions "against the judge, or any of the justices of the "quorum," so that there shall not be a sufficient number for the trial of the cause, the quorum may be completed out of the justices of thepeace for the county at large.

In certain cases appeals from decisions of justices of the peace, may be carried to the county-courts.

* Yet, in the instance of gaols, the power of taxing the inhabitants for building, repairs, &c. is given to the "as- "sistants and justices of the peace in the several coun- "ties." Stat. Conn. lxxi. i. sec. 3.

CHAPTER XVI.

Connecticut—Trial by Jury.

THE trial by jury is fully established in Connecticut; but this ancient and English constitution has been made to undergo several modifications.

1. Grand-jurors and petit-jurors are yearly officers, appertaining to the towns. The number of petit-jurors, to be chosen by the towns, is regulated for each town by statute. Some of the towns appear to have the choice of none. Some choose twenty, and some only four. The numbers are probably regulated in some degree by the population.

2. The grand-jurors are chosen in town meeting. The petit-jurors are chosen by the justices of the peace, selectmen, constables, grand-jurors conjointly. The names of the persons so chosen, are the names from which the constables, on receiving, from the clerk of any of the courts, a warrant to summon a certain number of jurymen, are to draw the names of those that are to serve.

For this purpose, the names are to be kept, on separate written papers, in "a box with a

" lock to it, to be provided at the cost of the " town." The constable is not to see the names before he draws them. Having drawn, he is to issue his summonses accordingly. With respect to the courts of the *United States*, the marshal stands in the place of the constable.

3. When, and when only, a sufficient number of petit-jurors, thus constituted and summoned, do not appear, or when, by reason of challenges or by other causes, the number is rendered insufficient, then the panel may be filled up out " of any good and lawful freeholders of " the county, whose names shall be returned by " the sheriff."

4. Each juror is allowed seventy-five cents for the trial of each issue, civil or criminal.*

5. Pending the proceedings on any trial, and before the charge is given by the court, no care is taken to prevent access to the jurymen. The fees of counsel being low, three are very commonly employed on each side in every cause; and every counsel is expected to earn his money, by making a long speech. Hence, the most trifling causes often occupy the courts for two and even three days. The courts adjourn twice in each day; and, at each adjournment, the jurymen are restored to perfect liberty.

* See Statutes of Connecticut.

They discuss in public houses the merits of the cause in hand, and hold arguments with plaintiffs and defendants, with prosecutors and prosecuted, and with the friends and partisans of each. This custom has given rise (if I may rely on the personal information of some of the most respectable lawyers) to a new employment in Connecticut) for the talents of practitioners. *Sleepy* attornies were never of great advantage to their clients ; but it has been found that a *sleeping attorney* may be rendered very profitable.

A *sleeping attorney* is secretly retained, either for a plaintiff or defendant. His business is, to secure a lodging in one of the many-bedrooms, which, at the public inns, happen to be chiefly occupied by a large part of the jury sworn to try the cause ; and into which he is freely admitted, because, though an attorney, he is supposed to have nothing to do with that particular suit. As the honest men, after the candle is put out, renew the debate in which, from the time of their leaving court, they have been engaged, upon the merits of the question before them, they not unfrequently differ in opinion, from the want of a little legal knowledge. The *sleeping attorney* suffers himself to be kept awake by the argument ; and if, being known for an attorney, his opinion is

not expressly asked, at least from time to time he modestly bestows it; and, as he commands a greater flow, and greater clearness of expression, than most of the others who discuss it, it often happens, that that tranquillity of mind, and stillness of sound, which are most favourable to sleep, are found to be the quickest gained by adopting the *sleeping attorney's* opinion; an opinion which appears to be delivered by one wholly unconcerned. At all events, he is able to impress upon his hearers some leading view or maxim, to be made good use of the next day; or, at the very worst, he carries to his colleagues the adverse points upon which the jury chiefly rest, and against which they may consequently direct the whole force of their attack.

CHAPTER XVII.

Connecticut—Taxation.

EVERY inhabitant—(for there is here no question as to lawful and unlawful freemen and non-freemen)—every inhabitant (unless by law in any case exempted) pays taxes, both civil and ecclesiastical, "whereof he does or may re- "ceive benefit," and may be compelled thereto, if need be, by civil process and distress.*

The taxes are either state-taxes, county-taxes, town-taxes or society-taxes. The society-taxes are either for the support of schools, or for that of public worship; and the last are called *ministerial* taxes.

All these taxes, and which taxes are of local application, are direct. The only indirect taxes are those levied by the United States, in the form of customs and duties on imports and tonnage.

If a collector of the state-tax becomes a defaulter, the state may recover the amount in de-

* Statutes, cxxxv. i. "All the freeholders" pay taxes. *American Universal Geography.*

fault, by distress against the selectmen of the town to which the defaulter belongs; and if the demand be still unsatisfied, it has the same remedy against the goods and chattels of the inhabitants of the town. The collector, it will be remembered, is a town officer, and receives his appointment from the town; and the town, and not the individual, is responsible to the state.

All the direct or local taxes are assessed by one rule; that is, according to the general *list* of polls and ratable property.

The law requires of the inhabitants of the several towns, that on or before the tenth day of September, in each year, they render annually to the listers an account or list of all the *listable* polls, and of all listable estate, to them severally belonging, on the twentieth day of August, then last past; to the items of which the listers are to add the valuation, either according to a system of valuation, by law in certain cases provided, or according to their judgment, where no such provision is made.

The listers or *assessors* are to retain the lists in their possession till the last day of December annually; and to add a two-fold amount for all the ratable property, which, in the interim, they may discover to have been omitted by the individual rendering the list, giving him notice of this proceeding; and if any doubt

arises as to the ownership of property, the opinion of the listers is to prevail, unless the negative be proved. The lister receives half the amount added.* The ordinary compensation of the listers is twenty-five cents (or a quarter of a dollar) for each thousand dollars on their list.

Those who, being residents, render no lists at all, are charged four-fold for their whole reported property; and for those, who, being non-residents, are guilty of any such neglect, the listers are to make lists themselves.†

Sometime in the month of January, the listers deliver a *town-list*, or list of the polls and ratable property of the town, compiled from the lists of the inhabitants, and containing every individual specification, to the town-clerk.

On the first day of April, the *town-lists* are transmitted to the comptroller of the public accounts, together with the sum total of the society-taxes. A town, neglecting to send a list, is to be "*doomed*," that is assessed "at the discre-" tion of the general assembly."

* Statutes, ci. i.

† Relief is to be obtained only from a bench of two or more of the justices of the peace, and three of the selectmen of the town; or from a majority of the justices and selectmen. This authority may make *abatements*.

This system was made part of the code in 1650, after having been previously established in Massachusetts. It has undergone almost yearly revisions.

The scheme of valuation, established by law, affixes the same value to all things of the same denomination, and which value is much beneath that which they would command in the market. Thus, every ox or bull is valued at ten dollars; every cow at seven; every acre of ploughland at a dollar and sixty-seven cents; and every hundred dollars in bank stock, at no more than three dollars.

The persons, anciently exempted from the poll-tax, were the magistrates and elders of churches. In 1672, they were made to include the assistants, *commissioners*, (deputies or representatives,) ministers of the gospel and schoolmasters. In 1702, the disabled, sick and lame were exempted. In 1737, justices of the peace were deprived of the exemption; and the governor, the deputy-governor, rector, tutors and students of Yale College (the latter till the time of taking their second degree) were exempted. In 1793, the sick and lame ceased to be exempted, but received other provision; and in 1794, the governor, deputy-governor and assistants were made taxable.* At present, it is provided, that

* Statutes of Connecticut, page 166.

" all ministers of the gospel that now are or " hereafter shall be settled in this state, during " their continuance in the ministry, shall have " all their estates, lying in the same society or " town wherein they dwell, and all polls belong- " ing to their several families, exempted from " being put into the list. And also, the estate " of the president of Yale College, for the time " being, shall be under the same regulations as " the estates of ministers of the gospel; as also " shall all lands and buildings in this state se- " questered to and *improved* for schools or other " public or pious uses;" and " That the polls " of the non-commissioned officers and privates " of the militia of this state, whether of the in- " fantry, cavalry, artillery, guards or independ- " ent companies, shall be exempted from the " list of polls and ratable estate, during the time " of their being liable by law to do duty in their " respective companies; provided, that each " person, claiming the benefit of this act, shall " produce a certificate from the commanding " officer of the company to which he respective- " ly belongs, on or before the tenth day of Sep- " tember in each year, that he is equipped ac- " cording to law, and dressed in uniform, and " hath performed military duty according to " law during the year preceding, or hath been " prevented from performing the same by sick-

" ness, bodily infirmity or other reasonable " cause."

Inhabitants, employed for four months in the year on board a vessel which is the property of an inhabitant, are also exempted from the poll-tax, for the year in which they are so employed; and an abatement may be made " from such " list of the polls of such persons as are disabled " by sickness, lameness or other infirmity, pro- " vided that such abatement shall not exceed " one-tenth part of such polls. And the trea- " surer shall not accept or allow any bills of " abatement, save only where any persons shall " be found according to the true meaning of " this act to have been really overcharged or " wrong-charged, or unless any person charged " in said list, is deceased, or shall have abscond- " ed and departed out of this state before the " time limited for the payment of such rate to " the treasurer, and hath not left any estate " whereon the same may be levied."

From the town-lists, the treasurer compiles a *grand list;* and upon the amount of the grand-list, the state-tax is levied, at the rate of so much on each dollar. The county, town and society taxes are levied upon the town-lists, or parts of the grand list.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Connecticut—Taxes and Public Expenditure.

THE several taxes, taken together, are not of inconsiderable amount; but the state tax is very light, the greater part of the expenses of government being levied and managed by the towns and societies. The state-tax of this year is only seven *mills* on the dollar. The annual charges of the state are of the average amount of forty-three or forty-four thousand dollars:

Salaries of the governor, lieutenant-governor and judges,	$ 7,684
Debentures of the general assembly,	16,000
Debentures of the supreme court of errors,	300
Expenses of public prosecutions,	3,000
Expense of Newgate-prison,	3,000
Charges of paupers and vagrants,	3,000
	$ 32,984
Contingent expenses, comprehending all other charges of government; such as arrears of old debts, grants from the treasury, &c. on *private petitions*,	10,500
	$ 43,484

The amount of the other taxes which have been mentioned is dependent, in each particular town, county and society, on an infinity of peculiar circumstances. In towns newly settled, or still settling, roads and bridges are serious articles of expense; and these are commonly in all cases the heaviest.

The denominations of money in the United States are *dollars*, *cents* or hundredth parts of dollars, and *mills* or thousandth parts. *Dimes* or tenth parts are mentioned by writers, but never enter into accounts. The *mill* is only imaginary. The coins are dollars, and halves, and other parts of dollars in silver, and cents and half cents in copper. In those parts of the United States to which the present pages are confined, the dollar is estimated at six shillings currency, or as it is now called in the country, *lawful money*. For this, the ancient phrase is, *country pay*.

CHAPTER XIX.

Connecticut—Statistical and Historical Notes.

I SHALL here set down a very few notes, which it has fallen in my way to collect, relating to the history of the population, commerce, and public expenditure of Connecticut.

In the year 1692, the number of ratable persons in the colony was 3,109.*

In 1756, the number of inhabitants of Connecticut was 130,611; in 1774, it was 197,856; the increase, in eighteen years, being 67,245.†

In 1782, the number was 209,150, the increase, in eight years, being 11,294.†

* Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

† *American Universal Geography.* In a work, entitled, An Account of the European Settlements in America, published in London, in the year 1777, there is a statement of the population of the New England colonies, upon which, however, no reliance is to be placed. The population of Connecticut is there given at only a hundred thousand; but this estimate, like all the rest, is too low. They stand as follows:

Massachusett's Bay	200,000
Connecticut	100,000
Rhode Island	30,000
New Hampshire	24,000
Total	354,000

In 1790, it was 237,946; the increase in eight years being 28,796. The troubles of the revolution, and a spirit of emigration, are assigned as the causes of the comparatively small increase of the eight years preceding the year 1782. Subjoined is the census of 1790.

Counties.	*Total No. Inhabit.*	*No. Females.*	*Slaves.*	*Chief Towns.*
Hartford,	38,029	18,714	263	Hartford
Newhaven	30,830	15,258	433	Newhaven
New London	33,200	16,478	586	N. London Norwich
Fairfield	36,250	17,541	797	Fairfield Danbury
Windham	28,921	14,406	184	Windham
Litchfield	38,755	18,909	233	Litchfield
Middlesex	18,855	9,632	221	Middlesex Haddam
Tolland	13,106	6,510	47	Tolland
Total, eight	237,946	117,448	2,764	

The Account of the European Settlements is now attributed to the Right Honourable Edmund Burke; and it is to be confessed, that the pen of that great man does appear to betray itself in the composition. It were to be wished, however, that the charge be removed; for this book adds nothing to his reputation. It is full of the most false assertions, and of the most absurd declamation. Its facts are collected with extreme credulity. Raynal is its authority, even upon the affairs of the English colonies; and the representations, and even the sentiments of this writer, as well as of Lafitau and others, are translated and transcribed, with the most con-

In 1800, the number was 251,002; the increase, in ten years, being 13,056. This increase is still in smaller proportion than that of the eight years preceding 1782. The cause is doubtlessly an increased emigration.

Census for the Year 1800.

Counties.	*No. Towns.* 1790.	*No. Inhab.* 1800.	*Chief Towns.*	*No. Inhab.* 1800.	*No. Slaves.* 1800.
Hartford	15	42,147	Hartford	5,347	67
Newhaven	14	32,162	Newhaven	5,157	236
New London	11	34,888	New London	5,150	209
			Norwich	3,475	
Fairfield	14	38,208	Fairfield	3,735	275
			Danbury	3,180	
Windham	14	28,222	Windham	2,354	35
Litchfield	23	41,214	Litchfield	4,215	47
Middlesex	7	19,874	Middletown	5,001	72
			Haddam	2,317	
Tolland	9	14,319	Tolland	1,638	9
Total	8 107	251,002			950

temptible servility. In some places, the translation being bad, the sentiment is spoiled, and the argument made absurd.

There is another view in which it is not less censurable. It is a party book; and, in the true spirit of party, the author yields the most implicit belief to every thing that can assist his cause. He aims at vilifying the colonial administration of Great Britain; and, by way of contrast, he is so unfortunate as to fix upon the colonial administration of France, (and of France too in Canada!) as an object of admiration!

The number of slaves, in 1790, was 2,764; and in 1800, 951; the decrease, in ten years, being 1,613, or nearly two-thirds of the whole.

In 1792, the amount of the grand list was £183,159 0 0.*

Before the separation from Great Britain, the ordinary annual expences of the government fell short of £4,000 currency.†

In 1787, the amount of the grand list was £1,533,867 18 5 3-4

Sum total of the single list,	£1,484,901 4 6 3-4
Assessments,	47,790 2 9
One quarter of the four-folds	1,176 9 4
Total	£1,533,867 18 5 3-4‡

By *assessments* is meant those particular assessments which are made by the listers or by the general assembly, in consequence of individuals, or of towns.

* *Trumbull's History of Connecticut.*—For a statistical view of Connecticut, in the year 1713, see the same work, Book I. chap. xviii. and for a variety of statistical information regarding each particular town, in the year 1807, see the Appendix to this work, No. I.

† American Universal Geography.

‡ American Gazetteer.

In 1774, the annual value of the exported produce of Connecticut, was estimated at	£200,000
currency.	
In the year ending September 30th, 1791, the amount of exports to foreign parts (those to the different parts of the United States being excluded) was	710,340
In the year 1792,	749,925
In the year 1793,	770,239
In the year 1794,	806,746
In the year 1800,	1,114,743

The following particulars are from papers laid on the table of congress:

In the year ending the 30th of September, 1790, 30,616 79-95 tons of shipping belonging to the United States, entered the ports of Connecticut, on which the duties arising amounted to	$1,837
Of English shipping, 2,556 tons. Duties	1,278
Of all other countries, *none*.	
Total	$3,115
Tons of shipping of the United States	30,616 79-95
Tons of English shipping	2,556
Total of tons	33,172 79-95

The amount of tonnage this year, employed by Connecticut in the coasting trade, was 6,330.*

	In 1791.	In 1795.
In the year 1791, the net amount of monies for duties on imports, tonnage, fines, penalties and forfeitures, received for the treasury of the United States by the collector of the customs in Connecticut, was	$94,048 61	105,283 21
The expense on collecting the revenue, was	5,938 9	18,052 6
Allowance by the United States to vessels employed in the fisheries		1,793 34

* Total of the Tonnage of the United States.

	Tons.	*Tons.*
American vessels employed in the foreign trade	363,093 40-95	502,526 40-95
American coasters, above 20 tons	113,181	
Ditto on the Fisheries	26,252	
Total foreign tonnage		262,913 57-95
United States and British		312 1-2
Ditto and other foreign		338 2-3
Total		766,091 16-95

	1791.	1795.
Bounties on salted fish and provisions exported	2,028 17	2,078 08
Drawbacks on domestic distilled liquors exported	194 34	871 91
Drawbacks on foreign merchandise exported	32 67	155 16
Fines, penalties and forfeitures		10
Duties on tonnage	2,461 95 1-2	1,404 35
Duties on merchandise	99,780 74 1-2	116,819 41

In the year 1792, 103,644 gallons of spirituous liquors were distilled from foreign materials, and 11,639 from domestic; making a total of 115,283

The duties on spirits removed amounted in gross to $13,194 86 1-2

Nett amount, 12,997 32

In the year 1792, the amount of duties on spirituous liquors, distilled in Connecticut, was 3,460 38

On country stills, 787 94

But these duties are no longer exacted.

In 1803, when a direct tax or subsidy of two millions of dollars was required by an act of congress, the quota of Connecticut amounted to 129,767 0

The consequent assessment in the state was 130,186 14*

* The quotas and assessments on the respective states were severally as follows:

STATE.	*Quota by the act of Congress.* D. C. M.	*Assessment.* D. C. M.
New Hampshire	77,705 36 2	77,850
Massachusetts	260,435 31 2	261,128 49
Rhode Island	37,502 08	37,393 31 4
Connecticut	129,767 0 2	130,186 14 7
Vermont,	46,864 18 7	46,932 11
New York,	181,680 70 9	182,267 27
New Jersey,	98,387 25 3	98,226 10
Pennsylvania,	237,177 72 7	237,700 56 9
Delaware,	30,430 79 2	30,309 90
Maryland,	152,599 95 4	153,901 96
Virginia,	345,488 66 5	349,900 30
Kentucky,	37,643 99 7	38,166 44 8
Tennessee,	18,806 38 3	18,770 15 5
North Carolina,	193,697 96 5	192,697 96 5
	1,848,187 38 6	1,855,430 72 8
South Carolina,	112,997 73 9	
Georgia,	38,814 87 5	
	2,000,000 00	

CHAPTER XX.

Connecticut—Windsor.

FROM Hartford, I turned toward the north-west corner of this territory, purposing to make a stage in the neighbourhood of the state-prison, a romantic sort of establishment, of which however all the romance will vanish from the reader's mind, when he learns its name. My road lay through Windsor, the town which adjoins Hartford on the north, and which has already been mentioned as one of the three ancient settlements.

A few miles brought me to a river that deserves a better fate than to be known, as known it is, by no other appellation than *Windsor-ferry river*. It is a beautiful stream, which, rising on the frontier of Massachusetts, among the mountains of the Western Range, called in Vermont the Green Mountains, descends, by a south-east course, towards the valley of the Connecticut, but unable to find an opening, through a range of hills which lie on the westward of that valley, it forms an abrupt elbow, and then travels far to the northward. At length, from a spot, called Pickerel Cove or Fishing

Cove, it again flows to the south-east, turning as abruptly as before, and, at the end of many windings, at length finds an outlet. On its way through New Hartford, which is a town on the upper part of its course, it passes a spot called Satan's Kingdom. In Farmington, a small river, there called the Little Poquabock, and higher up called Cambridge river, unites itself with this; and at Pickerel Cove another, called Salmon-brook, becomes a second principal tributary. This river is sometimes called Farmington river, through all its course, and sometimes as far as where it first turns to the north; and below this, sometimes Little river, but more strictly Windsor-ferry river. It was once perhaps called the Poquabock. It might be elegantly called the Tunxis; for it is through a fine and fertile portion of the ancient Tunxis that it flows.

At the site of the ferry, a wooden bridge has been erected; but the floods, in the spring, had materially damaged this, as well as several other bridges. The river passed, when I saw it, at the bottom of banks of fifteen or twenty feet in height, and was about thirty yards in width. The banks consist in a sandy loam.

On the north bank, it had been recommended to me to inquire for Plymouth Meadow, a point of land, at the confluence of the two rivers, on which the first English adventurers obtained an

establishment; the date of their arrival being 1633.

As I had been taught to expect, I found an obliging guide in Colonel Mather, the present owner of the soil. The meadow is annually covered with water, to a considerable height, a circumstance respecting which the tradition remains, that the Indians gave warning to the English. The point of land, however, being somewhat elevated, the warning was disregarded. Plymouth House was set upon the point, and no fears were entertained. In the spring, the water flowed suddenly over the low ground, between the point and the lands on which the Indians, more experienced, lived. The English were presently insulated; and, the floods continuing to rise, their situation would have become desperate, but for the timely assistance of the Indians, who brought them off in their canoes.

Plymouth House was all that the English owned in Windsor at this time. The town was settled in 1636, and then called Dorchester; but very shortly after received the name of Windsor. Its ancient limits comprehended not only what is still called Windsor, but also East Windsor, which is on the opposite bank of the Connecticut; and Ellington, which lies still further to the east. East and West Windsor were divided about the year 1661, at the conclusion of the

French war. The first settlers, for the most part, were originally from Lancaster; there are many Irish families, particularly in that division now called Ellington.

Windsor is divided into three societies or parishes, of which that called Wintownbury is in the west, the Irish or united society in the east, and Pauquonuc in the north.

The first society was united in 1686, by the Reverend Mr. Samuel Mather, whose great grandson is the present Colonel Mather. It was divided again in 1754, but reunited in 1793.

The town supports about six or seven poor, and gives some assistance to about fifteen more. As in the other towns, a bargain is made by auction for their relief; and the annual cost, on an average of some years, is three hundred dollars.

CHAPTER XXI.

Connecticut—Newgate Prison.

THE reader is forewarned, that he has to travel with me, either in fact or in name, over the whole peopled earth. He must express no surprise, therefore, at any thing which may appear at the head of my chapters, or elsewhere.

The state-prison, my design of visiting which has been mentioned, is situate on West Mountain. It is in the town of Granby, but its own name is Newgate. Granby adjoins Windsor on the west, and was once a part of Simsbury.

The road, after again crossing, at a ford, the Windsor-ferry river, leads to the mountains which confine the stream, in its retrogade journey to the northward. I was obliged to go to a ford, on account of the damage done by the floods to a second bridge. The weather was now exceedingly fine, and the country alternately rich with pasture, and wild with rocks and hills. The sun was declining in the west, and spreading everywhere his evening glories.

The approach of evening, however, gave me one ground of disquiet. I was advancing to a gaol, and that gaol, a Newgate. Undeceived as to the first idea which presented itself, that this Newgate must be in the midst of some populous neighbourhood, I was scarcely better pleased when I discovered, that it stood almost in a solitude of wood and mountains. My wish was to see it, and yet go further the same night; but I learned that there was no inn near it, except one, which I thought too near;—for it was at the gate. Things, however, being thus, I resigned myself to their control, and proceeded to the gaol of Newgate.

Ascending, by a rocky road, the western side of the mountain, I discovered at length the walls of the prison, rising gray upon the brow. On the east, the road was skirted, at a small distance, by lofty and precipitous craggs, and on the west lay extensive valleys, with mountains in the distance.

The prison-walls were by the road side, on the left; on the right, and immediately opposite the gate, I saw a house of respectable figure and dimensions, wooden and white painted. This was the inn; on reaching the door of which, I saw a few men, two or three of whom were in military uniform, engaged at skittles, or in some such recreation.

On entering the house, the good looks of the landlord afforded me some consolation ; and this was the more important, as I had not arrived at the hour of the day proper for visiting the gaol. The men in uniform were a part of a military guard attached to the establishment, but at this time off duty. They, as well as the rest, presently relinquished their game, and separated ; and I found myself, for the remainder of the evening, in a quiet farm-house, where I was myself the only guest.

My landlord was a plain and industrious farmer, in whom and in whose family there was realized, more than in any other instance that I have happened to meet with, the picture, which the imagination of so many has drawn, as that of the agricultural life in America. He was himself a grandfather, and he had living with him, in his house, his very aged mother. He was the father of nine children, of whom one or two were married and settled at a distance ; one or two, in his immediate neighbourhood ; and two daughters, and two or three sons, were still under his roof. All the members of the family were personable and well-featured ; and the two girls were beauties, one a blue-eyed *blonde*, and the other a dark-haired *brunette*. I found them employed, in a building detached from the house, the one at the wheel, and the other at the

loom. They were presently afterward in the farm-yard, milking the cows. It is generally said in Connecticut, but with what justice I am not otherwise able to represent, that the inhabitants of the mountainous parts, and generally those that are not seated on the fertile meads which border the Connecticut, compose the more industrious and more sober part of the community.

This family appeared to possess much of what is called *rural simplicity*, a phrase, like the thing which it represents, of the growth of the old world, and rarely to be met with in these parts of the new. On one subject, however, the credulity which I discovered in my landlord and his neighbours, in no respect distinguished them from the mass of the humbler classes of their fellow-countrymen: it was that of reposing confidence in the skill of certain persons to discover money and metals buried or concealed in the earth. I was assured, that there was to be found in the surrounding hills, a black stone, of a certain species, through which a seventh son of a seventh son, born in the month of February, with a caul on his head, can discern every thing that lies in the depths and interior of the globe.

The prisoners in the gaol are kept to hard labour at smiths' work, within the walls; and their task, which ends at four o'clock in the after-

noon, commences at four o'clock in the morning. My landlord recommended that I should witness their first appearance in the morning, and I followed his advice.

It is the plan of this establishment to make it an object of terror. Several of the higher crimes are punished by confinement in this place for life ; while, for lesser, the duration is limited to certain terms of years. While confined, however, every prisoner partakes of the common fate.

On being admitted into the gaol-yard, I found a sentry under arms within the gate, and eight soldiers drawn up in a line, in front of the gaoler's house. A bell, summoning the prisoners to work, had already rung ; and in a few moments they began to make their appearance.

They came in irregular numbers, sometimes two or three together, and sometimes a single one alone ; but, whenever one or more were about to cross the yard to the smithy, the soldiers were ordered to present, in readiness to fire. The prisoners were heavily ironed, and secured both by hand-cuffs and fetters ; and, being therefore unable to walk, could only make their way by a sort of jump or a hop. On entering the smithy, some went to the sides of the forges, where collars, dependent by iron chains from the roof, were fastened round their necks, and others

were chained in pairs to wheelbarrows. The number of prisoners was about forty; and when they were all disposed of, in the manner described, sentries were placed within the building which contained them. After viewing thus far the economy of this prison, I left it, proposing to visit the cells at a later hour.

This establishment, as I have said, is designed to be, from all its arrangements, an object of terror; and every thing is accordingly contrived, to make the life endured in it as burdensome and miserable as possible.

In conformity with this idea, the place chosen for the prison is no other than the mouth of a forsaken copper-mine, of which the excavations are employed for cells. They are descended by a shaft, which is secured by a trap-door, within the prison-house, or gaoler's house, which stands upon the mine.

The trap-door being lifted up, I went down an iron ladder, perpendicularly fixed, to the depth of about fifty feet. From the foot of the ladder, a rough, narrow and low passage descends still deeper, till it terminates at a well of clear water, over which is an air-shaft, seventy feet in height, and guarded at its mouth, which is within the gaol-yard, by a hatch of iron. The cells are near the well, but at different depths, beneath the surface, none perhaps exceeding

sixty feet. They are small, rugged, and accommodated only with wooden births, and some straw.

The straw was wet, and there was much humidity in every part of this obscure region; but I was assured I ought to attribute this only to the remarkable wetness of the season; that the cells were in general dry, and that they were not found unfavourable to the health of the prisoners.

Into these cells the prisoners are dismissed at four o'clock in the afternoon, every day without exception, and at all seasons of the year. They descend in their fetters and hand-cuffs; and at four o'clock in the morning they ascend the iron ladder, climbing it as well they can, by the aid of their fettered limbs. It is to be observed that no women are confined here; the law providing, that female convicts, guilty of crimes for which men are to be confined in Newgate-prison, are to be sent only to the county-gaols.

Going again into the workshop or smithy, I found the attendants of the prison delivering pickled pork for the dinner of the prisoners. Pieces were given separately to the parties at each forge. They were thrown upon the floor, and left to be washed and boiled in the water used for cooling the iron wrought at the forges. Meat had been distributed in like manner for breakfast. The food of the prison is regulated for

each day in the week; and consists in an alternation of pork, beef, and peas, with which last no flesh meat is allowed.

Besides the caverns or excavations below, and the gaoler's house above, there are other apartments prepared for the prisoners, and particularly a hospital, of which the neatness and airiness afford a strong contrast to the other parts of the prison. It was also satisfactory to find that in this hospital there were no sick.

Such is the seat and the scene of punishment, provided by Connecticut, for criminals, not guilty of murder, treason, or either of a few other capital offences. What judgment the reader will pass upon it, I do not venture to anticipate; but, for myself, I cannot get rid of the impression, that without any extraordinary cruelty in its actual operation, there is something very like cruelty in the device and design.

Be this, however, as it may, the idea was not diminished in my mind, by an anecdote that I learned, and that belongs to the history of the government of the prison; which govern- is exercised by overseers, appointed from time to time by the general assembly.

A prisoner in this gaol, (and who happened to be the leader of those robbers whom I have formerly mentioned, as inhabiting the mountains near Middletown,) resorted to the artifice, not

altogether without example, of maiming himself, for the purpose of escaping from labour. The use of one hand, however, was still left him ; and, by employing this, the overseers defeated his project. They set up, in the gaol-yard, a vessel like the hopper of a mill, with a small aperture at the bottom ; and, chaining him to this, compelled him, during the usual hours, to attempt to fill it with sand. This device, borrowed from the fable of the daughters of Danaus, was ingeniously applied ; but ingenuity in afflicting even a convict will never be reckoned among the virtues.—As to the subterranean cells in this prison, they are rather adapted to convey horror to a transitory visitor, than to occasion any particular misery to those who become their inhabitants. A humane visitor will console himself with this reflection ; but he will still call in question the rectitude of the persons by whom those inhabitants are placed there under a very different intention. Every circumstance of pain that is pointed out to him, every ragged projection in the walls, every broken and dangerous part of the descent ; the black mud that soils his clothes ; the narrowness and obscurity of the cells ; all will rather offend his judgment, than amuse his fancy. He will never be able to understand,

that good men can occupy themselves in the invention of circumstances of distress,

——— sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell; hope never comes,
That comes to all!

But, though no large addition may be made to the misery of the prisoner, it does not follow that nothing is added to his depravity. Prisoners in this gaol are treated precisely as tigers are treated in a *menagerie;* and if the minds of men are influenced by education, then the education of a tiger may be expected to make a tiger of the man. From all persons in and about the gaol, you hear of nothing but the ferocious disposition of the prisoners, and of the continual fear in which they keep their keepers. Now, nothing ought less to excite our surprise than this. Every thing that human art can do, is in this instance done, to brutify and inflame the victim; and what more natural, than that this being done, he should in his own turn become an object of alarm, to those by whom he is brutified and inflamed?

If we should coolly ask, with what view this system is supported, we must be answered, either that it is to reform, or it is to punish. If it be to reform, it is one of the weakest of all human projects; if to punish, it is one of the most

barbarous. Lawgivers, too humane to rob malefactors of life, can yet plan to rob them of all the enjoyments and all the hopes of life; can see them wear out their days and nights in long protracted suffering; can do all, that in them lies, either to deprive their victims of human faculties, here rendered useless to the possessor, or to turn those faculties into the sole direction of malice and ferocity; malice against the authors of their misery, and ferocity in their schemes of liberty and vengeance!

One material defect seems undeniable. It is inconsistent with common prudence to confine those, whose imprisonment is only for a term of years, together with those who are to be imprisoned for life. There can be nothing conceived, too full of violence, too daring or too wicked, for the minds of men placed in the situation of the latter; and such as for seven, for fourteen years or more, have been their associates, can be scarcely fit to be trusted into society again. I am assured that those, who have been once confined in this gaol, are commonly brought back at no long interval. If it is replied, that this frequently happens at all gaols, the fact, that it happens here, may at least authorise us to believe, that there is nothing peculiarly beneficial in the system, nor in all the waste of cruelty, or attempt at cruelty, which distinguishes it.

So strong is the fear entertained, of violence on the part of the prisoners or of their friends, that the overseers are invested by law with the extraordinary power of seizing and "confining "in the caverns, till they can be otherwise dis- "posed of according to law, spectators and "others who shall be found lurking without "the pickets." Pickets formerly supplied the place of the present walls. The military guard consists in ten privates and three officers. Their regimentals are blue; and they compose the whole of the regular army of Connecticut.

What is further enacted betrays some of the peculiarities of the legislation received in the United States: "*Be it further enacted*, That "at the expiration of the term of confinement "for which any prisoner is, or shall be senten- "ced to Newgate-prison, if it appear by the "warrant of commitment, that he is ordered to "stand committed until the cost be paid, and "such prisoner shall not be able to pay the "cost, or to secure the same, to the acceptance "of the overseers of said prison, in such case, "the overseers are hereby authorised and em- "powered to assign such prisoner in service, to "some inhabitant of this state, or of any of the "United States, for such term as they shall "judge necessary, to pay such cost, taking rea- "sonable security of such inhabitant to pay the

" same to the state; but if no suitable person " appear to take in service such prisoner, the " overseers may direct the master of the prison " to hold him in service, within *said* prison, and " for such term as may be limited by the over- " seers to pay such cost; who are directed to " allow such prisoner, customary journeyman's " wages for like services; and the master of the " prison shall have power to confine such pri- " soner at his labour, so far as the safe keeping " of the prisoners in general may demand. But " if such prisoner shall be unable to labour, the " overseers, first taking the best security for the " cost that may be obtained, shall order the " master to discharge him. *Be it further en-* " *acted*, That if any prisoner shall make his " escape from said prison and shall be retaken, " and recommitted, the necessary expense of " pursuit and recommitment, to be allowed by " the overseers, shall be paid and satisfied by " such prisoner, as is herein provided for the " payment of original bills of cost, taxed by " the court; and the overseers shall dispose of " such prisoner accordingly."

The annual cost of this prison to the state has already appeared to be about three thousand dollars.

CHAPTER XXII.

Connecticut—Canton—Canaan—Hartland—Colebrook—Norfolk.

BEFORE I quitted my inn at the prison-gate, I ascended the rocky ridge which rises to the westward of the prison, and at the foot of which my landlord had at least the home-fields of his farm. The interval is a hollow, divided through its middle by a brook, or rather by the channel of a mountain-stream. Toward the summit the sides of the rocks, are perpendicular; and it was only by the aid of fragments and fissures that I ascended them. It is observable, that this description agrees with that of the whole western face of the Turkey Mountains; while, on the east, their declivities are every where gradual. The mountains have their name from the flocks of wild turkeys by which they were formerly frequented, but of which none are at present seen.

The substance of these mountains, from Granby downward to Newhaven, is uniformly a basaltic stone, called *whin-stone*, and *peperino-stone*, and of which the component parts are found to be indurated clay and iron. Its surface, when

long exposed to the atmosphere, becomes red with the rust or oxyd of that metal, and in its fractures it every where affects the columnar form, detaching itself in upright and polygonal masses. Those masses, however, separate themselves into others more minute; insomuch, that at the feet of all these mountains, there are heaps of smaller fragments of all sizes, and all of which still retain something of the prismatic form. The stone is heavy, and, when not oxydated, its colour is a light brown. How high it accompanies the range, in its progress toward Lake George, or rather to the countries eastward of that lake, I have not ascertained; but it appears to terminate before it enters the lower parts of Vermont, where I suspect that it loses itself in schist. Peperino-stone presents itself again on the west bank of Hudson's river, below the spur of the Alleghany Mountains which forms the Highlands on that river; and, receding into the inland parts of New-Jersey, occasions the beautiful fall of the Passaic, a river in that country. There, as well as in Connecticut, it has copper in its neighbourhood.

The summits of the rocks that I ascended are exceedingly barren of soil, and they support only a scanty growth of stunted trees. Among these, the evergreens are white spruce-fir, (*Pinus*

abies Canadensis,) here called *hemlock* or *hemlock-spruce.*

From Newgate-prison, I proceeded to Hartland, a town yet further to the north-west, and still more remote from the Connecticut. For a short distance, the road led through some beautiful woods, and then entered a plain, from the Monnatuc Mountains, a detached portion of the range. The sloping banks, formed by fallen fragments round their feet, are clothed with oak, pine and spruce; over which is a crown of columnar rocks, itself surmounted by other woods. An eagle, sailing slow, with his broad wing, above the whole, gave a suitable life to the picture.

The soil below is light and alluvial, and variously covered with grass, with young wood, and with fields of rye. At the further extremity of the level, is the stream called Salmon-brook, and by its side is the small village of Canton. Here, I found myself once more on a turnpike-road, and at the foot of the Poppatunnuc mountains.

The turnpike-road reaches only a few miles; and beyond this is a country in which the settlements have hitherto made but little progress. The surface is rocky, and composed of steep mountains, divided only by narrow valleys.

The Poppatunnuc Mountains, which rise between the Salmon-brook, and Farmington-river, consist of two ridges, of which one is locally called the East, and the other the West Mountain. The East mountain is also called the East society, and East Hartland. Having ascended the East Mountain, by a road rendered almost impassable, by the large and loose stones and stumps of trees with which it is filled, I found the church and village of the society or parish of East Hartland, at the distance of ten miles from Newgate-prison.

Settlements were begun to be made in East Hartland in the year 1754 but this town is still in great part uncleared. The church is surrounded by a church-yard or burying-ground, a circumstance not conformable with the usual practice of this country. In the church-yard is a grave-stone, to the memory of one of the first settlers of the town, and on which is inscribed a text, too applicable to the earlier colonists not to have been frequently applied: *We are strangers and sojourners in the land, as all our fathers were.*

East Hartland contains, within its whole extent, from three to four hundred houses. It has three district schools, and it gives three hundred dollars per annum to its clergyman. Wheat is said to be destroyed here by the *blast*; and

the chief wealth of the inhabitants is in their pastures. The settlement is at present so far advanced, as to hold out encouragement for making a turnpike road, which it is proposed shortly to undertake; but I saw, in the person of a Mr. Knight, the first lawyer that has ever resided in the neighbourhood.

From East Hartland, I descended, by a steep declivity, into a valley of some width, in which the forest is begun to be felled. Beyond this is the West Mountain, covered with woods, behind which is the valley of Farmington-river, or the country anciently called Tunxis.

By the side of the river is a good road, on which I found a public house, the first that has been established here, and of which the architecture is characteristic of the country and its inhabitants. It has the frame work of a tolerable dwelling, which in time it will no doubt become. Meanwhile, it is inhabited, though in the most unfinished state; the floorings of the upper story, the ceilings of the lower, and the partitions of most of the rooms, being to be added, from time to time, as leisure and means shall offer. The valley in which it stands is exceedingly beautiful.

A little above the public-house, the road crosses a bridge, and here the neighbourhood becomes more populous. In West Hartland there are

six schools, each of which has about thirty-five scholars.

Beyond West Hartland is Colebrook, a town settled in 1756, but which contains only one church or meeting-house; a part of its inhabitants, however, are joined with parts of the inhabitants of two neighbouring towns, in a society or association of anabaptists. Colebrook has only one pauper, and that is an aged negro. The country round is called the Green Woods. Iron-works begin to show themselves here; this town lying on the eastern skirts of that country of iron-ore which now lay before me.

The bones of animals of extraordinary size, and particularly of the animal which has received the name of *mammoth*, have been found in several parts of those regions of North America, in which the country is composed of plains, abundantly watered with large rivers; but, of the ancient existence of such animals, even in the mountainous and less fertile tracts, on the east of Hudson's river, Colebrook, and its vicinity are said to have betrayed vestiges. We are told, that in Colebrook in the year 1796, some labourers, digging to the depth of nine or ten feet, found three large tusks, and two thigh bones, the latter of which measured each about four feet and four inches in length, and twelve inches and a half in circumference. It is added,

that when first discovered, they were entire; but that as soon as they were exposed to the air, they mouldered into dust.*

On the fifth of June I slept in Norfolk, at a house situate on the road between Hartford and Hudson, and distant from the former place thirty-three miles. Near it, at the end of a wood, is a small lake or pool, called the *small* or *little pond*, in contradistinction to another that is in the town, and that is larger. Norfolk is nine miles in length, by four and a half in width; but it contains only one meeting-house. The natural forest in a great degree remains, and the town therefore cannot be populous; but it would probably possess more than one meeting-house, that is, it would comprise more than one parish or society, were it not that many of its inhabitants are of the anabaptist persuasion.

In the morning, my journey lay along the sides of woody mountains, called the Ragged Mountains, and which are still part of the Green Mountains. Beneath the road is a brook, called Blackberry-river, on which are several iron-works. In all this country, which is little inviting to the plough, the forest has only disappeared in part; but the establishment of iron-works occasions a demand for charcoal, and the

* American Gazetteer.

axe and the flame are therefore now busily at work.

Adjoining Norfolk is Canaan. Here, the country declines toward a river called the Housatonic ; and with this circumstance, as I believe, is to be connected the hemispherical form which the summits of all the mountains wear. One of these is called Haystack Mountain. I suppose this and the rest to have been fashioned by the action of water. Among the other detached eminences of this description, are Rattlesnake and Bald Mountains. The rocks which project from their sides are encrusted with sparry concretions, among which are zeolites and other substances that bespeak the presence of metals.

Along with the ragged summits of the mountains, all the other features of a ruder landscape disappear. The soil becomes gravelly, and the whole surface prepares the traveller for his approach to a river. Amid the woods and softened scenery here exhibited, a small opening, by the way-side, is devoted to the burial of the dead. It is unenclosed ; but the situation is enough of a solitude to make this of no importance. I stopped, and strolled among the graves. The greater part are distinguished by grave-stones and inscriptions ; but I scarcely found one of the dead to whose name there did not belong some

military rank. From the turf under which repose the remains of Major Nahum ——, I turned to that which is sacred to Ensign Jesse ——; and thence to the peaceful dwellings of a long list of colonels, captains, corporals and generals. While I was admiring within myself the dust that covered all these titled dead, I arrived at the table-tombstone of a departed colonel, on which is cut, with several truths of equal value, that which follows:

> Titles of honour can't secure the great,
> Nor save poor mortals from the laws of fate!

CHAPTER XXIII.

Connecticut—Canaan—Salisbury—Sharon.

I WAS here in the north society of Canaan. Of this society, which contains five or six schools, the inhabitants are principally artificers, as nailers, joiners and cartwrights, or waggon-makers. Of the last there are ten in the society. The number of voters, or persons possessing the elective franchise, is about three hundred. The paupers are about ten or eleven in number.

In the south society the number of schools is about the same as in the north.

The land in this society is more mountainous and rocky than in the south society, from which it is separated by a mountain, called Canaan Mountain. It consists also, in part, of large swamps and morasses. The timber is pine and oak. Good wheat is raised here ; and the system of farming in this town, like that of the towns in general, is to employ the land alternately for grain and grass. In all parts, timothy, here called English grass, is the grass cultivated. Specimens of lead and iron ores are frequent in the mountains. There is a slitting-mill in the north society, and several iron-works in different parts of the town. The Housatonic separates this town from the town of Salisbury.

Crossing the river, and passing over the mountains that form the opposite bank, and on which are some iron-works, I descended into a valley that is watered by the Fell-kill. *Kill* is a Dutch word, signifying a small stream ; and its occurrence in this place is a monument of the ancient progress of the colonists of New-York (then called the New Netherlands) to the eastward of Hudson's river. Salisbury lies on the furthest limits of Connecticut, in this direction. It is said to have been called by the Indians *Wiatiac*.

On the banks of the Fell-kill, and near a church, I found an inn. Salisbury is in a particular manner devoted to the manufacture of iron, the whole tract of country abounding in bog-ore. There are two furnaces in the town, of which, however, one is not employed. At the other, not only the ordinary *hollow iron* or *hollow ware*, is manufactured, but also anchors and cannon. There is a carding-machine in this town, and there was formerly a paper-mill, but this was burnt down some years ago, and it is not rebuilt.

The church or meeting-house that I saw is the only one in Salisbury; but the number of schools is from ten to twelve; and each school is attended by forty, fifty and even sixty scholars. The teachers are paid at the rate of twelve dollars per month.

On the 24th of December, 1799, Mr. Bingham, of Salisbury, killed a she-bear, then large with young. The fœtuses were three in number, male and female, of the size of kittens of two months old, and as *complete bears* (says the naturalist from whom I take the account) as they could have been at their full growth; that is, they did not require to be licked into shape, as old tradition has pretended, and as Ovid and

others have ventured to assert.*—That the error should have remained so long uncontradicted by positive testimony is probably to be attributed to the peculiar habits of the she-bear. Bears retire to the roots and hollows of trees almost at the falling of the first snow; but, while the male contents himself with a hiding-place near the root of a tree, the female always chooses a hollow in the upper part. It is here, in safety from the wolves, and during the winter season, that she brings forth; and it is not till the spring, that she leads her young, by that time well grown, out of this secret place.† All these circumstances must render it a very rare occurrence, either to find the mother in a gravid state, or the young till some time after their birth.

At eleven miles from the meeting-house in Salisbury is that of Sharon. The aspect of this latter village is particularly agreeable. From the meeting-house, there is a view up a road or street, which extends only to a short distance before it ascends some lofty mountains, distinguished by those rounded or swelling contours, which, as I have intimated, belong to the emi-

* Medical Repository. Hex. 2d. Vol. I. p. 419.

† See Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the years 1760 and 1776, by Alexander Henry, Esq. Chap. xvii.

nences in this neighbourhood. In the vale below, the landscape is embellished by the mansion of Mr. John Cotton Smith, a respectable attorney, and speaker of the lower house of assembly.

Sharon has been settled about seventy years. It has one forge, for the manufacture of bar-iron; but the inhabitants are almost wholly farmers. The lands, here and in Salisbury, are excellent wheat-lands; and the same description is applicable to a whole stripe of land, stretching from Sharon to Hudson's river, through a county in the territory of New York, called Duchess-county. The favourite crops are wheat, clover, and timothy, or English grass. No anxiety is entertained concerning exhausting crops, because gypsum or plaster of Paris is found (or so it is said) to restore in all cases the vigour of the soil, and make up for inferior husbandry. This manure is bought at Poughkeepsie, on Hudson's river, where it sells at ten dollars per ton. The carriage to Sharon is valued at six dollars; the grinding at three, and the spreading at one; making the whole expense equal to about twenty dollars per ton.

Gypsum is imported into the United States from Nova Scotia, in British bottoms; but it is usually landed at Passamaquoddy, or some neighbouring port in the district of Maine, and thence carried to the various markets, in vessels belong-

ing to the United States. It is to be observed, that by the operation of the *embargo*, the United States have now attempted to deprive themselves of this import, to the great injury, as it is represented of their agriculture: "We speak within "compass," say some of the politicians of the times, "when we say that the agricultural in- "terests of these states are advanced to the "amount of five millions [of dollars] annually, "by the use of plaster of Paris or gypsum."*

A *camp-meeting* had lately been held in this neighbourhood, that is, in New York, on the limits of which Sharon abuts; for, in all this part of New England, such an event would be extraordinary. A camp-meeting is a phenomenon in the moral world of which I may hereafter have occasion to say more: at present, I shall only add, that I found the conversation of the people much engrossed by the excesses which they had witnessed at this exhibition of fanaticism. The inhabitants of Sharon are in part congregationalists, and in part anabaptists.

The burial-ground of Sharon, which is at the same time an orchard, is large, and is distinguished by several epitaphs that are written with more than the usual portion of good sense. It lies on the side of a gentle eminence, from which there is a

* Balance and New York State Journal.

pleasing prospect of the country called the town of *Amenia*, in New York. Cornwall, which adjoins Sharon on the east, that is, which lies on the opposite bank of the Housatonic, has a rocky soil, though less so than Hartland. It affords good pasture, and good crops of wheat. It has two hundred voters, and is attached to the *federal* politics.

From Sharon, I proposed going to Litchfield; but I went a little out of the road, for the purpose of seeing the Falls of the Housatonic, which I had left to the eastward, in descending into Sharon.

Where the river begins to fall over the rocky ledges, its width was at this time about fifty yards. The cataract is composed of a succession of falls, the water tumbling from the rocks with the greatest picturesque beauty. The total descent may be about sixty feet; but the height of no particular fall exceeded, at the time of my visit, twelve or fifteen feet; nor was the breadth of any one of the falls equal to the breadth of the stream. At seasons when there is more water in the river, the whole stream may pass from the summit in its entire breadth; but, at the same time, the height of the falls must be lessened.*

* The river is usually described as falling, at this place, "about sixty feet perpendicular, in a perfect "white sheet—in one entire white sheet."

The Housatonic rises in Massachusetts, not many miles to the northward of Salisbury and Canaan, in Connecticut, and falls into the sea in Long-island Sound, near the town of Stratford. Its name is sometimes written *Hooestennuc* and *Hoosootoonoke*, according to the ear or fancy of the writer, in his attempt to imitate the Indian pronunciation. Dr. Morse informs us, that the signification of the word is *over the mountain;* but, if this be so, I presume that the word is a contraction of a whole phrase; for *Wadjhusutunnuc* may mean *at the river over* or *beyond the mountain*. *Wadjhu* or *Wadzu* denotes a particular description of mountain; and the contraction, in composition, of *Wadjhu*, into *hu* or *hoo*, is after the Indian manner.

The fall of water is employed in working the machinery of two or three forges and mills; and at the foot of the cataract is a bridge. Below the bridge, the stream recovers its tranquillity, and winds beneath banks of green-sward, shaded by white pine-trees of an ample growth. The landscape round is mountainous.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Connecticut—Goshen—Litchfield.

FROM the Falls of the Housatonic there is a good road, leading over Canaan Mountain. In the lowlands are some marshy tracts ; but, here, a sufficient, though not very agreeable road, is formed by causeys of logs; or, in the language of the country, it is *bridged.*

Canaan Mountain, and the hills about it, exhibit only the beginnings of the operations of the settler. The bark of a tree being cut round, its whole circumference, the tree dies. This operation is called *girdling*. When the trees, having been girdled, are dead, and become dry, fire is spread among them. The effects of the fire are irregular. Here, it nearly devours a whole tree ; or, consuming that part of the trunk which is nearest the ground, it occasions the upper part, with all its branches, to fall, in headlong ruin. Here, it only scorches different parts of the tree ; and there, it devours the heart, leaving the rest hollow, blackened, and apparently always ready to fall. Meanwhile, the bark decays, and tumbles to the ground; and the

wood beneath, exposed to the injuries of the atmosphere, acquires a gray colour. It is under this aspect that the new farms present themselves, even for many years after the beginning of their cultivation. Skeletons of trees lift all around their desolate and naked arms; and, barren, burnt and dismembered as they are, the imagination attributes their state only to the scathe of heaven.

The south society of Canaan adjoins the town of Cornwall, through a corner of which the road leads to Goshen. In the manufacture of cheese, the west side of the Connecticut boasts of that of Goshen, as the east boasts of that of Stonington. Goshen contains many large farms, and substantial farmers, devoted to dairying: to speak more definitely of the extent of the farms in this town, it is to be added, that they are usually of from one to four hundred acres. The road to Hudson and Catskill lies through Goshen, where it was cut about eight years ago. Goshen has only one meeting-house, which is forty years old; but to which a tower and steeple have been added within these six years: the edifice is entirely of wood. Goshen has ten or twelve schools, and six or seven paupers. It raises but little wheat.

From the church or meeting-house, in Goshen, to the Town Hill in Litchfield, is a dis-

tance of only five miles and a half. I reached this place on the evening of the eighth of June.

Litchfield is the county-town of the county of Litchfield, and contains four societies or parishes, severally denominated the Town Hill, Northfield, South Farms and Milton. The number of inhabitants, in the year 1800, was 4,215. Within the four societies there are thirty common or district schools. The total amount of town-taxes, for the year, is fourteen hundred dollars. Twenty paupers are wholly maintained, and six or eight more are assisted; and of this part of the expenditure the amount is eight hundred dollars. The salary of the clergyman of the Town Hill society, together with the incidental expenses of the meeting-house, are also eight hundred dollars. The whole of the taxes paid in this society, the county-taxes excepted, are enumerated as follows:

1. A state-tax of seven mills, or seven thousandth parts of a dollar, on every dollar in the town-list of ratable property.

2. A town-tax of two cents and eight mills on every dollar in the town-list; and,

3. A society-tax of two cents on every dollar.

The town list amounts to 94,804 dollars. On this sum, a tax of seven mills per dollar amounts to nearly 665 dollars.

On the same sum, a further tax, of two cents and eight mills' per dollar, amounts to 2,656 dollars.

On the same sum, a further tax, of two cents per dollar, amounts to 1,896 dollars. The three sums added together, produce the total sum of 5,217 dollars.

The number of inhabitants in the town, in the year 1800, was 4,215. Taking the present number at 5,000, and dividing the amount of the taxes by the number of inhabitants, the average amount of taxes per head will be about one dollar and fifty cents. But, if we reduce the number of inhabitants, by throwing out those who contribute only in a very small proportion, the amount paid by the remainder will of course be considerably increased.

This calculation, which is exceedingly loose, as it respects the town of Litchfield, may be sufficiently strict, as it respects the average of the several towns of the state; and it therefore puts us into possession of the average amount of the taxes paid by each inhabitant, and by the whole. If we make our estimate by the property, rather than by the polls, the amount of state, town and society-taxes, will be about six dollars upon each rated thousand.

The whole of Litchfield is hilly; but the hill, which is the seat of the Town Hill Society, is called, as may be inferred, the Town Hill. In the

south-west corner of the town is a hill or mountain, called Mount Tom.

The Town Hill descends on every side, discovering fine prospects of the verdant country below. In the vale, to the north-west, is a small river, called Bantam-river. The hill abounds in springs and hence the summer mornings are often foggy and sultry; but a refreshing breeze usually rises at noon.

The church or meeting-house is a handsome wooden building, placed in the centre of the little plain that is on the top of the hill. On one side of the plain is the county-court house, of more modern architecture, but differing in nothing, in its exterior, from the ordinary exterior of a meeting-house. The dwelling-houses are not a hundred in number, but many of them are very respectably inhabited. Litchfield is the family residence of Mr. Oliver Wolcott, formerly secretary at war, for the United States; and it is also the residence of Mr. Tapping Reeve, one of the judges of the superior court of Connecticut; and of some other persons, justly distinguished by the public.

As a county-town, Litchfield, like all others of the same description, is the residence of several practising attorneys; but it is also in a particular manner a seat of legal study, in con-

sequence of the courses of lectures delivered by Judge Reeve and Mr. Gould, to a circle of students. The reading and talents of both those gentlemen are in so much esteem, that several of the pupils that attend them, come even from North and South Carolina. Among these, I had the pleasure of seeing more than one, of whom the manners and the endowments appeared alike to entitle them to esteem.

Mr. Gould was not in Litchfield at this time; but I had the satisfaction of attending one of the lectures of Judge Reeve. It was delivered in a small building, adjoining his front garden, and with the door open to the public foot-way.

To Mr. Aaron Burr Reeve, the son of the judge, and a nephew of Colonel Burr, I am indebted for several instances of attention, during my stay in Litchfield; and, among others, for having led me to a little village ball. The ball was held in an open part of the court-house, without the bar; and, what will probably be thought, in a striking manner to evince, if nothing more, at least the equal condition upon which all the members of society are placed, is the reason that was assigned for a thinner attendance than had been expected.—The assemblage consisted of the younger members of the most respectable inhabitants of the place; and, at the same time, many that had been in-

vited were kept away, by their consideration for the gaoler's wife, who was said to be lying dangerously ill.

Among the amusements of the young people are little rural parties, held on the islands of Bantam-river. There is in Litchfield a respectable school for young ladies.

CHAPTER XXV.

Connecticut—Kent—Inscriptions.

A FEW miles to the west of Litchfield, is Kent, a town on the boundary, and of which the settlement was begun in the year 1740. Its limits then included the modern town of Washington.

In Washington, on the Shippaug, a river which falls into the Housatonic, is a tract of land, still reserved to the use of a few families of Indians, and known by the name of Scaticook. On the Hosac, a small river that falls into Hudson's river from the east, is a place called *Schactecoke* and *Scaghticoke;* and these words, together with *Scaticoak*, are apparently of the same original with *Piscataqua*, the name of a river in New Hampshire. Pscatiquoke, Pscatiqueag or *Pscatiguiah*, implies, in the language of the Indians of the country, the *banks at the confla-*

ence of two streams, or where two channels are divergent; in other words, what is sometimes popularly called a *fork*. This description I suppose to be applicable to Scaticook, in Kent, as it strictly is to Schacticoke, on the Hosac. Scaticook was formerly understood to comprise lands on both sides of the river; but its limits are now reduced.

It was not convenient for me to visit this place, a circumstance which I have perhaps the more reason to regret, on account of an Indian inscription which is extant, as it is said, upon one of the rocks. Since I left Connecticut, I have seen, however, more than one Indian *inscription*, as hereafter I shall have occasion to relate; and I am not led to believe that there is, in the inscription at Scaticook, any thing peculiar or extraordinary. The fact of its existence is probably alone of any importance; a fact which adds to the number of instances in which these *inscriptions* are found. The only intimation, that I have received of it, is from the manuscripts of the late Dr. Ezra Stiles, formerly president of Yale College, in this state; and wherein it appears to consist but of a very few and trifling sculptures.

From the same source, and from no other, I have also learned, that there are some Hebrew words, engraved on another rock, in a town on the south-west of Litchfield, and which was formerly

a part of Kent. A strong disposition to discover, in the aborigines of North America, an Hebraic, and even Judaic origin, has long existed among some portion of the learned; and indeed this theory alone seems to have engrossed, for many years, the attention of the few persons, among the English colonists, who have been curious in their regard; but Dr. Stiles, though, among his countrymen, he has some reputation for credulity, appears at least to have escaped this snare; and, in the instance of the Washington Inscription, is content to trace to a very humble source, even the existence of real Hebrew characters.

The rock which bears the inscription is an insulated mass of stone, composed, according to the manuscript, of *white flint*. It stands amid a forest, on the summit of Cobble Hill, which rises opposite to the modern Scaticook, and was included in the ancient, and is about a mile long, and eighty or a hundred rods in breadth. Dr. Stiles, in some places, calls the hill, Hebrew-pinnacle Hill, and the spot on which the stone is found, the Hebrew Pinnacle. The pinnacle is distant six miles from Litchfield church or meeting-house, and is only two miles to the north of the parish of New Preston.

The rock lies north and south, and measures fourteen feet in length, and eight or ten in

width, both at the base and at the top; the sides being more or less perpendicular, and smooth faced. Its height from the ground is six feet at the north end, and five at the south; and there are characters engraved on all its parts: the Hebrew inscription is on its *horizontal summit*. The inscription appears to comprise but a few words: "Two," says the manuscript, "containing the names Adam and Abraham, are obvious; the other two are unintelligible." It is added, that a gentleman of the Jewish nation thought them chronological: he probably was shown only a copy.

Though the hill is said to be called the Hebrew Pinnacle, or the Hebrew-pinnacle Hill, yet the manuscript also says, that the rock is "very little "known, even in the neighbourhood." The following account is then given of the first discovery.

About the year 1760, an old woman showed to some certain persons a written paper, in which was contained an account, that at *a rock with writing on it*, situate near her place of residence, money was buried. These persons, in consequence, spent several years in digging to find the money, a task from which they desisted only in the year 1774. At first, they concealed their information with views of gain, and afterward, through shame; and whence the woman derived the paper, has always remained a secret.

Dr. Stiles doubts the truth of one part of the tradition, which imports, that some pieces of the rock were broken away by the adventurers, and sent to New York and elsewhere, to be decyphered. The doctor also appears to place no confidence in the date assigned to the discovery. The Indians, at Scaticook, have been asked in vain for information upon the subject.

Kent, within the limits of which Washington formerly was, was begun to be settled in 1740; and there were Moravian missionaries at Scaticook, as early as 1750, and till 1770; but the doctor tells us, that the inscription was not publicly heard of till 1780; and adds that, "indeed, I "believe it was very new in 1780."

The characters, that are not Hebrew, appear, from the MS, to be Roman; as B H, which, it is suggested, may be no other than the initials of Barnabas Hatch, a settler that lived within a hundred rods of the rock, in the year 1741. In another place are the characters I H O W, followed by additional ones that are defaced.

Though Dr. Stiles believes that the Hebrew inscription was very new in 1780, he yet disbelieves, what is now asserted by some, that it was engraved by a party of French officers, belonging to M. de Rochambeau's army; of whom it is said, that they paid a visit to the pinnacle,

on a party of pleasure. In conclusion, the doctor furnishes us with a very probable clew to the mystery:

"There has prevailed, for these fifty years "past, a strong conceit, that the western parts of "Connecticut abounded with mines of the pre- "cious metals. The mountains of New Milford, "Kent and Cornwall, have been much searched "for this end. Two or three gentlemen of the "Jewish nation, at New York, have, for many "years past, been owners of, and concerned in "working a mine at New Milford, six or eight "miles distant from this inscription, on the "Hebrew pinnacle mountain. A Jew, skilled in "mineralogy, from Germany, has been conver- "sant among these mountains. I have rather "imagined, a Jew, Mr. Moses, might have en- "graved this inscription; as he resided at Corn- "wall, adjoining it, half a year, between 1766 "and 1770, and spent his time in examining "and searching for mines, in Cornwall, Kent "and New Milford. He professed the art of "refining metals. I thus have no doubt that "this inscription is to be ascribed to some of "these Jews, and that it was probably made "since the year 1760."*

* MS of the late Reverend Ezra Stiles, D. D. and president of Yale College, reposited in the library of the Historical Society of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Connecticut—Woodbridge—Newhaven.

LITCHFIELD is distant thirteen miles and a half from Salisbury, and thirty-six from Newhaven. The Town Hill, though not remarkably raised above the surrounding country, is said to be very much above the level of the sea. Whether this be so great as is contended for, or whether the cold wet soil with which the hill is covered may not be assigned, in part, as the cause of a backward vegetation, I shall not pretend to decide; but of the reality of the backwardness, I saw singular proofs. The planting or sowing of maize, exclusively called *corn*, was just accomplished on the Town Hill, when I reached it. Two days afterward, in Waterbury, which is the town immediately below, I learned that the planting of the same vegetable had there been completed more than a week before. On the same day, in Waterbury, on the banks of the Naugatuc, it was above ground, and in some places the inhabitants were at work at the first hoeing; and, within a few hours I saw it, in Newhaven, more than a foot high. The Town Hill is said to be

in north latitude, 41° 46′ and west longitude 73° 77′.

The county of Litchfield, besides possessing fine pastures, raises much wheat and maize. In the town, in addition to the water of several fertilizing streams, is a small lake or pool, called the *great pond.* The bogs yield iron-ore; and there are iron-works, an oil-mill, several saw-mills and grist-mills.

Watertown, Waterbury and Woodbridge, the towns through which I passed, between Litchfield and Newhaven, are all watered by the Naugatuc, otherwise called Waterbury-river, a river which falls into the Housatonic. Of both these streams the channels are rocky and romantic, and the cataracts and other interruptions frequent. Of both, the banks abound in iron-ore; and on both, are numerous iron-works, and in the town very numerous mills. The Naugatuc rises in Torringford, or perhaps nearer to Colebrook, on the west side of the Turkey Mountains, and among several small lakes, which are numerous in the hollows. In Goshen, is a lake called *Massapog Pond*, and another, called *Pauge Pond.* Massapog is apparently formed of *massa* or *missi piag* or *peag—at the banks of a large pool;* and Pauge is *piag*—at the banks of the pool—or of the water. In the same town, one of the streams that are tributary to the Nauga-

tuc, has the English name of *Witch-river*, for what reason I am not informed. In Watertown, a little below the church belonging to the church of England, the Naugatuc receives the *Moosum*, a name probably from *mons* or *moose*, the elk.

Waterbury is said to have been called by the Indians *Matteluck;* perhaps *Mattetuc* or *Matatuc:* Matatig', mata tiguiah, *at the banks of a shallow river.*

As the road approaches Newhaven, it is carried along the east side of the basaltic rock that composes the Western Range, and which terminates in a bluff-head behind the city, called West Rock. It is the West and East Rocks, red, as before described, with the oxyd of iron, and seen conspicuous in the offing, that once procured for the site of Newhaven, the names of *Red Mounte* and *Red Hills.* At the feet of the rocks, and between them, is a broad plain or meadow, watered by two small rivers. On this meadow, which embraces the harbour of Newhaven, is seated the city.

Newhaven, of which it has already been observed, that it was the capital of the colony of the same name, so long as that colony remained separate from the colony of Connecticut, is still a town of importance in this state, not only for its commerce, and for the alternate sessions

of the legislature which are held in it, but as being the seat of its university. It is also the county-town of the county of Newhaven. Its population, in the year 1800, was 5,157 in number, including slaves. The value of the imports of the district, for the year 1794, amounted to 171,868 dollars. The trade is with New York, and with the West Indies. The city was incorporated in the year 1784.

Newhaven has many handsome buildings, public and private. Several private dwelling-houses, built of wood, are of a very elegant architecture, the introduction of the taste for which, into Newhaven and Hartford, is ascribed to an English builder, of the name of Barmer.

The city was originally laid out in squares, of which a large one, near the centre, is open, and contains the public buildings. On the west side is Yale College; on the east, the county-gaol; and in the middle are the old state-house, and a church and burial ground, surrounded by a spacious green. The green is fenced with a substantial white railing, and shaded with some ancient elms, of a most beautiful species, *(ulmus Americana.)* The state-house and church are of brick, as are also the buildings of Yale College. The county-gaol, is of stone.

Besides the college chapel, there are in Newhaven three congregational churches, and one English church.

The city has several streets, many of which are ornamented with trees. They are all unpaved; but the soil is sandy, and they are therefore clean. A pier of great length projects into the harbour, on which is a row of roomy warehouses of brick. The distance, from the pier to the mouth of the harbour, in Long-island Sound, is four miles. The number of houses in the city is said to be about six hundred.

A few years ago, much attention was paid in Newhaven, and its vicinity, to the raising of silkworms, and manufacture of silk; and many of the female members of the community are in possession of silk gowns, spun and woven by themselves, from silk produced under their care. This, however, has been the limit of the success obtained; and the pursuit is now wholly abandoned.

At the distance of a short ride out of the city, on the Mill-river, are the works of Mr. Eli Whitney, a machinist of very extraordinary ingenuity. Mr. Whitney has invented a machine for separating the seeds of the cotton-plant, from the cotton by which they are enveloped in the pod. From the manner in which the cotton adheres, the possibility of such a contrivance had

remained long in doubt; but Mr. Whitney has entirely satisfied the wishes of the cotton-planter, and the value of estates in the cotton-countries has been greatly increased by this effort of his genius.

Mr. Whitney has applied machinery to the entire manufacture of fire arms, of which he is at present making a large quantity for the United States. For every part of the musket he has a mould; and there is said to be so much exactitude in the finishing, that every part of any one musket may be adapted to all the parts of any other. Card-teeth, cotton-thread, paper, and some other articles are also manufactured in Newhaven.

A bank was incorporated here in 1792, of which the capital stock is fixed at 50,000 dollars.* In this, as in every other commercial place in the United States, there is at least one marine insurance company. The stock of these companies is of the most profitable description.

* It should have been mentioned (Chap. viii.) that there is a bank in Middletown, with a capital stock of 100,000 dollars. That city, with the county of Middlesex, also support one newspaper, called the Middlesex Gazette, of which the politics is *federal*. The population of the *town* of Middletown, in the year 1800, amounted to 5,001 souls. Dr. Morse inadvertently ascribes to the *city*, the population of the *town*.

The average amount of the several dividends, made on the insurance in each year, since the year 1790, is said to have exceeded a hundred per cent.

Two newspapers are published weekly in Newhaven, of which both are supports of the federal party.

Newhaven has not wholly escaped the ravages of the malignant fever, commonly called *yellow fever;* but its general salubrity is said to be remarkable. The average number of deaths is represented as not exceeding one in seventy. It is observed that all parts of New England, and particularly of the countries lying on the Connecticut, are subject to inflammatory diseases, that from time to time make their appearance, and occasion a sudden and alarming mortality. Their duration, however, is short.

In describing Newhaven, it would be unpardonable to forget to mention the New Burying-round. This is a square plot, of large extent, divided, by smooth walks, into small squares. These squares are again divided by railings into still smaller squares, and these again into squares so minute as to be reasonably occupied by two families; for the *square* not being lost sight of for a moment, and the smallest square being too large for the generali-

ty of families, no choice is left but to divide this smallest square into half squares. This last division, however, must be so effected as not to destroy the uniform appearance of the squares. The squares are bordered by trees, which, unfortunately, are not square also; but which, being Lombardy-poplars, have promised to grow with the least irregularity possible. There are, however, in the centres of some of the squares, a few weeping willows, from which quite so much cannot be hoped. Meanwhile, every grave dug is in the same direction, and every square is of the same dimensions. The ground is level, the walks rolled, the grass smooth, and the rails are duly painted, white and black.

The squares, or half squares, are so many freeholds; and the names of the several freeholders are painted on the railings. Hence, the names, both of the living and the dead, are to be seen together. One inscription relates, that the deceased person, of whom it is the memorial, was *fifty-four years clerk of the town of Newhaven, and fifty-four years clerk of the house of representatives.*

The flourishing aspect of Newhaven has now been intimated under several features, and particularly in its modern buildings. It is asserted, however, by some, that the prosperity of the city is not to be estimated by the very

specious appearance made by its dwellings, in spite of the frailty of their materials. The inhabitants, according to them, have "*overbuilt* "themselves."

To arrive at the full meaning of this phrase, the reader must be informed, that of almost every considerable advance in the United States, the commencement is dated at the era of the French revolution; an event that, by the consequent wars, threw into their hands a degree of commercial prosperity with which they had been unacquainted before. This commercial prosperity has raised individual fortunes, built the cities and villages, thrown bridges across the rivers, and cut the roads throughout the country.*

Hoping and believing every thing, from this flush of wealth and fortune, there are those, who, according to the less sanguine, proceed too far. The United States, as it is argued by the latter, cannot hope for a future progress, corresponding with that which they have made during the last twenty years. The war in Europe has become less beneficial; and it is contended, that a general peace would reduce the trade once more within its former limits. In many

* There was no turnpike-road in Connecticut before the year 1791. See *American Universal Geography.*

of the maritime towns, therefore, they think that more money has been expended, and more numerous and more costly buildings erected, than prudence would have directed or permitted.

Meanwhile, Mr. Hillhouse, one of the landed proprietors of Newhaven, discovers himself to be so little of this opinion, that he has projected, and in part commenced, the building of a new and entire city, in the immediate rear of the old one. He builds his houses of stone, in a very solid and costly manner; and has marked out the area of a spacious square, in which are to be ornamental plantations. The ground that is contained within this area, he proposes giving to the public, upon the sole condition, that the building-lots shall be purchased, and that the plantations shall be subject to his immediate will, during the whole term of his life. Newhaven is indebted to Mr. Hillhouse for several embellishments, and for the plan of the New Burying-ground.

Nor is it to merchants and landholders alone, that Newhaven owes all the accumulation of her buildings. Of a part of the warehouses on the pier, the erection is said to have been occasioned by a remarkable instance of mental delusion. A Mr. David Austin, a clergyman, and a native of this place, took it into his head, toward the close of the eighteenth century, that

the Millenium was at hand, that the Jews were to be gathered together and restored, and that they were to be established in his native city. It is pretended, that the warehouses which Mr. Austin prevailed upon his father to build, were intended to meet the increased trade of the city, under circumstances so auspicious; and that the seer actually caused "four and twenty long white "hum-hum garments" to be prepared for the four and twenty elders who were to attend the new comers in Newhaven. Many other visions of the same individual are on record, partly in the writings of others, and partly in writings of his own. Jocular allusions to the *Millenium* are hence become common in Connecticut, and to these allusions belong the history of Mr. Austin, the Jews, the warehouses at Newhaven, the white garments and the elders.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Connecticut—Yale College.

THE principal college edifices are five in number, of which three contain the chambers of the students. Each of these is four stories high, a hundred feet in front, and forty in depth, and contains thirty-two chambers. The number of chambers here, therefore, is ninety-six ;* but it is very much the practice to suffer two students to reside in one chamber. Between the north edifice and the central one, but detached from both, is a building, called the Connecticut Lyceum, with a front of about fifty feet ; and between the central edifice and that on the south is another, with a front of forty feet, also detached, and occupied as the college chapel. All these edifices are of brick, very plain in their architecture, and in the modern style. Further to the north, is a handsome dwelling-house of wood, built by the college for the president. The chapel and the lyceum are not so built, or placed, as to produce that symmetry which the description of them might imply.

* " Sufficient for 180 students." *American Universal Geography.*

The chapel is without ornament, except that it is surmounted by a spire or steeple, of a hundred and thirty feet in height. Besides the chapel, there are other apartments under the same roof. The lyceum is crowned with a cupola. Behind the principal edifices is one more, comprising the dining-hall and kitchen. The kitchen forms the vestibule. Breakfast is laid without a cloth.

The lyceum contains a library, museum, and council-room, rooms for lectures in philosophy and chemistry, and for depositing philosophical and chemical apparatus.

The faculty and board of management of Yale College consist in the president, professors and tutors. The established professorships are five in number; including divinity, languages and ecclesiastical history, mathematics and natural philosophy, chemistry and law. The professor of chemistry delivers four lectures in every week, during the terms; the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, one or two; in languages and ecclesiastical history no lectures are delivered at present, the professor being allowed time to prepare himself; in law no lectures are delivered at all; and the divinity-lecture, is delivered on a Sunday morning, in the form of a sermon, by the president, who, at present, enjoys this professorship.

The president derives a salary of one thousand dollars per annum, and receives a fee of four dollars for every degree conferred. The president acts as tutor to the head class of students. The professors receive eight hundred and twenty dollars per annum each, and the professor of chemistry has the advantage of selling tickets for the lectures.

The number of chambers is one hundred, and this is regarded as sufficient for the accommodation of two hundred students. The rent, charged for half a room, is one dollar and a half per month. Each student pays his proportion of the weekly expenditure of the house; and this amounts to a dollar and a half per week, or two dollars, and sometimes a little more. The actual number of students residing at this college for several years past, has been between two hundred and five, and two hundred and fifteen. In summer, the students rise at five o'clock, breakfast at seven, attend the chemical lecture at eight, dine at one, hear prayers at six, and sup at seven.

The library consists in about five thousand volumes, chiefly modern, and disposed in a room of no large dimensions. It is adorned with one of Mr. Stuart's copies of his picture of General Washington.

In the philosophical lecture-room are portraits of George I. Governor Yale, a principal benefactor of the college; Governors Saltonstall and Trumbull, and the late President Stiles. The philosophical apparatus has cost two thousand dollars.

The value of the present chemical apparatus does not exceed fifteen hundred; but great advances in this and every corresponding object, will probably be made with rapidity, through the abilities and industry of Mr. Benjamin Silliman, the present professor of chemistry. Mr. Silliman is recently returned from a voyage to Europe, made at the expense of the college, for the purpose of procuring the necessary apparatus, and enlarging his own scientific information; and he discovers, in a variety of particulars, a mind ardently and incessantly occupied with the pursuits and duties in which he is engaged. Besides a chemical apparatus, he has made and arranged a small but respectable collection in mineralogy and geology, studies with which he is much acquainted; and he looks forward to the establishment of a complete school of medicine at Yale College, for which professorships in anatomy and botany are to be appointed, and in furtherance of which he will himself deliver lectures on pharmacy, in addition to his lectures on chemistry. In the

chemical lecture-room is a pneumatic tub, constructed by this gentleman, on very improved principles.* Mr. Silliman is understood to be preparing for the press an account of his travels in Great Britain; a work the publication of which is much to be desired.

* A plate of this tub may be seen in the American Philosophical Transactions, vol. vi. part I. p. 104.

The tub represented on that plate, varies considerably, however, in the details of arrangement, from the apparatus actually executed by Professor Silliman at Newhaven.

1. In that at Newhaven, the gas reservoirs stop about six inches short of the ends of the tub; in the plate, they reach to the ends.

2. In the plate, there are two reservoirs on one side of the well, and but one on the other; in the original, there are two on each side.

3. In the original, the hydrostatic bellows are placed at the ends of the tub;—there is space enough left between the bottom of the reservoirs and the bottom of the tub to allow of their action up and down;—they project beneath the reservoirs, and the gas passes through a valve in the top, and close to the edge of the bellows: in the plate, the bellows are placed in the well;—the space between the bottom of the reservoirs and the bottom of the tub, is nearly removed, and the gas is to be forced out, through a tube passing from the bottom of the bellows to the gas reservoirs;—and this by a reversed action; viz. by depressing the bellows.

4. The levers, that work the bellows, appear, in the

The establishment of a college in Connecticut was first projected in the year 1698; and in 1700 it was begun. Saybrook was originally proposed to be its seat; but, in accommodation to President Pierson, the first president, it remained, during that gentleman's life, at Killingworth. In 1707, it was removed to Saybrook; and in 1716 to Newhaven. Here, in 1717, a college edifice of wood was erected, one hundred and seventy feet in front, and twenty-two

plate, on the side of the tub;—in the original, at its ends.

5. The tubes, which feed the blow-pipe, have in the original but one angle, and they point outward, from the tub; in the plate, they have four or five angles, and point inward.

The only particular in which Professor Silliman is of opinion that the arrangement in the plate is superior to his own, is that it dispenses with the space between the bottom of the reservoir and the bottom of the tub; but he is also of opinion that this advantage is more than counterbalanced by the practical difficulty of making the bellows absolutely air-tight, which this arrangement requires, and the other does not; and by the difficulty of forcing the gas downward, through a mass of water resisting its escape, which demands a strong manual effort; whereas, in his arrangement, the gas runs up, of its own accord. The professor has now formed an improved plan, by which he believes that all the difficulties will be completely obviated.

in depth. This was taken down in 1782; and the present edifices have risen since that date.*

The Reverend Dr. Dwight, author of the Conquest of Canaan, and several other poems, the actual president of this college, is the successor of the late Reverend Dr. Ezra Stiles, who died in the year 1795. From President Dwight I experienced the utmost readiness in communicating information, accompanied by those urbane and obliging manners for which he is conspicuous.

Between the years 1700 and 1793, the number of students that graduated in this university was two thousand two hundred and three; of which nearly eight hundred received holy orders. The number of graduates this year is sixty.

* There is said to be a complete account of Yale College, from its institution to the year 1766, in the "Annals or History of Yale College, in Newhaven, "in the Colony of Connecticut, from the first founding "thereof, in the year 1700, to the year 1766: with an "Appendix, &c. By Thomas Clap, A. M. President "of the said College."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Connecticut—Schools.

I HAVE reserved for this place an account of the common schools, as aiming to bring into one general view the institutions that have reference to school-learning.

The laws which relate to schools are not compulsory, except on the minorities in societies, which are bound by the acts of the majorities. To the societies, they only give power and assistance.

The societies, which have their constitution primarily for the purposes of public worship, and in this view are called *ecclesiastical* societies, are entrusted with the management of their local schools, and in this view are called *school societies.*

It is provided, that each school society shall have power to make and collect rates, for the purposes of building and repairing school-houses, and supporting schools; to divide the local limits of the society with school-districts; and to place school-houses according to the judgment of its committee. The societies appoint their own school-masters, and their own visitors. The societies are corporations, and have the powers usually incident.

The school-districts have power to take into their own hands what regards the building and maintenance of school-houses and other objects, and several of the lesser arrangements of accommodation; and even to exclude from their schools the children of such as refuse to obey the will of the majority; but they are otherwise in subordination to the societies. The school-districts, therefore, may have meetings, clerks, treasurers and other officers.*

For the assistance and encouragement of schools, the legislature has opened the public funds. It is provided, "That the treasurer "of this state shall annually deliver the sum of "*two dollars* upon every *thousand dollars*, in the "list of each school society, and proportionably for lesser sums, out of the rate of each "town, as the same shall be brought into the "state treasury, under the committee of such "school society, for the benefit of schools in "such society;" and that the interest of the funds provided by the sale of the Connecticut Reserve, called also the Western Reserve, and New Connecticut, shall be distributed to the school societies, that shall *conform to the provisions of the act*, (that is, as we may presume, that

* Statutes of Connecticut, Title cxli. Chap. 1, 2, 3, 4.

shall do what the act *empowers* them to do,) each society *according to its list;* but, whether the distribution is to be in direct or in inverse ratio to the list, is not said.

The sum annually accruing to the use of the schools, under the first of these provisions, depends on the annual amount of the grand list. In 1801, it was said to be equal to twelve thousand dollars.*

The amount of the interest of the fund, arising from the sale of the Connecticut Reserve, was then also seventy-two thousand dollars; making a sum total of eighty-four thousand dollars. If money received of the state by the school societies is applied to any other purpose than that of maintaining the schools, it may be recovered on the suit of the controller.

The public funds have been resorted to, for the maintenance of the schools, from the beginning of the government, as will be seen more expressly below; and various appropriations have been made, at different periods.

A French traveller calls the schools of Connecticut, *écoles gratuites* and *écoles franches;* that is, free-schools and charity-schools;† but,

* Dwight's Oration.

† Voyage dan les Etats Unis d'Amerique, par La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. Tome v. p. 131.

besides that the parents, of the children who frequent them, pay in common for their support, they pay also for each child a small sum per week, the amount of which is fixed by the society.

The result of the system I shall give in the words of a native writer, subscribing for myself to their truth. His deduction will perhaps be thought to be large, but it is popular. "It "is an extraordinary fact, that in this state, "a native inhabitant, either male or female, who "cannot both read and write, is a rare pheno- "menon. Further than this, almost every boy "is instructed not only in reading and writing, "but in arithmetic and geography. Hence "every industrious man, who possesses a fair "moral character, is qualified to fill many im- "portant offices in the town, county, and state."*

At first, the maintenance of public schools was compulsory, and it was also compulsory on parents to send their children to the schools: now, we see that parents may be denied the privilege of the schools; and the law only demands, that children, by one means or other, shall be *taught and instructed.*†

The compulsion, however, to teach and instruct, may be said to include the rest; for the establishment of schools, under the regulations,

* Dwight's Oration.

† Statutes, Title xxxiii. Chap. i.

and with the assistance of the legislature, affords the most convenient and most economical means of compliance.

Nor is this compulsion at all unrequisite, if the design of the legislator is to be fulfilled. Masters, guardians, and even parents, will often be more attentive to their own views than to the interests of the children whom they govern; to say nothing of negligence, nor of that contempt of the arts of book-learning, in which the ignorant are very apt to indulge, nor of party feeling, which enter even here. The profits which parents derive from the labour of their children, is often sufficient to prevent the allowance of time for school education; and even at the present day, when the people at large have acquired an habitual regard for common schools, there are still thousands of families in Connecticut, upon whom nothing but the law, and the public feeling, which has been raised and is supported by the law, can operate in this behalf. The difficulties encountered by the early lawgivers of the colony will presently appear; and it will be seen, that to carry their object, they were obliged to make that compromise, between what they considered the calls of public interest, and what were the calls of private cupidity. It was allowed, that the children should be withheld from the schools during the summer

months, an indulgence which still continues, and but for which schools would find small favour.

There is nothing in the late edition of the Statutes which carries back the history of the school system beyond the year 1700; but, in the manuscript records of Connecticut, there are documents which show that it is at least as old as the Narragansett war, or the year 1675; and it is probable that it engaged the attention of the legislators of the colony from the beginning.

The institution here developed must be regarded as a *positive institution*, resting not upon abstract principles, but upon its own practical merits. In estimating its value, great regard must be had to the country in which it is found; or in other words, to its bearings on the entire system of which it is a part. Considered in a broader view, its benefits may be pronounced to be, not indeed equivocal, but limited.

"*At a General Court, held at Hartford,*
"*May* 8, 1690.

"THIS court observing, that notwithstanding "the former orders, made for the education of "children and servants, there are many persons "unable to read the English tongue, and there-"by incapable to read the holy word of God, "or the good laws of this colony, which evil, "that it grow not further upon their majesties'

" subjects here, *it is ordered*, that all parents " and masters shall cause their respective chil- " dren and servants, as they are capable, to be " taught to read distinctly the English tongue, " and that the grand-jurymen in each town do, " once in the year at least, visit each family " they suspect to neglect this order, and satisfy " themselves whether all children under age, and " servants, in such suspected families, can read " well the English tongue, or be in good proce- " dure to learn the same, or not; and, if they " find any such children or servants not taught " as their years are capable of, they shall return " the names of the parents or masters of the said " children, so untaught, to the next court, " where the said parents or masters shall be " fined twenty shillings for each child or servant " whose teaching is or shall be neglected, con- " trary to this order, unless it shall appear to the " satisfaction of the court, that the said neglect " is not voluntary, but necessitated by the inca- " pacity of the parents, or master, or their " neighbours, to cause them to be taught as " aforesaid, or the incapacity of the said chil- " dren or servants to learn."*

* MS Records of Connecticut.

" *At a General Court at Hartford, May* 8,
" 1690.

" WHEREAS this court, at the time of New " England's calamity, at the last Indian war, " being then under the sense of the Lord's dis- " pleasure against us, for the sins of the land, " made divers and sundry good and wholesome " laws, for the suppression of vice and encourage- " ment of virtue, in hopes of thorough reformation " of those God-provoking evils, bewayled by all " good men; and whereas the sayd court, after " wards about the year 1684, for the further inforce- " ment of those laws, did make orders, direct- " ed to all inferior officers and ministers of " justice, for the due execution of the sayd " laws; we finding (to our sorrow) that, instead " of the reformation sincerely aimed at, vice " and corruption of manners, in most places, ra- " ther abound and increase more than ever, and " fearing, if the Lord, in his mercy and sove- " reign grace, prevent not, we may at length " prove an incorrigible people, and so a genera- " tion of his wrath, without remedy, ripened " for deserved desolation, which we are now " again, several ways, obvious to all, threatened " by cruel war and sickness, we do, therefore, " in the fear of God, once more, not only re- " commend it, to all magistrates and commis- " sioners of the colony, in their several places,

" that the sayd order be duly, constantly, and im-
" partially executed, but also to that end doe
" againe order and enjoyne all the selectmen,
" constables and grand-jurymen, in the several
" plantations, carefully to attend to the sayd or-
" ders of 1684, in a diligent inquiry into, and
" presentment of, all such breaches and trans-
" gressions of the said reformation-laws, and
" other the good and wholesome laws of this co-
" lony, that the government and rulers may be a
" terror to evil doers, as in our first times, and
" the Lord may yet take pleasure in us, as his
" people: and we do further solemnly recom-
" mend it to the ministers of our God, in their
" several places, by their holy labours to fur-
" ther what in them lyeth this great work of re-
" formation, in a due witness-bearing against
" the sins and growing evils of the times, where-
" in we have no reason to doubt of their for-
" wardness and holy zeal, and hope the Lord
" will be with us and them.

" This court, considering the necessity that
" many parents or masters may be under, to
" *improve* their children and servants in labour
" for a great part of the year, doe order, that if
" the towne schooles, in the several townes,
" as distinctly from the free schools, be, ac-
" cording to law, already established, kept up
" six months in each year, to teach to read and

" write the English tongue, the said towne, so " keeping their respective schools, six moneths " in each year, to teach to read and write the " English tongue, shall not be presentable or " fineable by law, for not having a schoole ac- " cording to law, notwithstanding any former " law or order to the contrary."*

The statute then goes on to direct, that there shall be two *free-schools* maintained, " for the " teaching of such children as shall come there, " after they can first read the psalter." The schools, one of which is fixed at Hartford, the other at Newhaven, are to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and the Latin and Greek tongues. The masters are to be chosen by the magistrates and ministers, and to receive the sum of sixty pounds, in *country pay ;* thirty pounds to be paid out of the county-treasury, and the other thirty out of the school revenue, given by particular persons, or to be given to that use, so far as it will extend ; and the rest to be made up by the respective towns of Hartford and Newhaven.

* MS Records of Connecticut.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Connecticut—Ancient Government of Newhaven.

SOME celebrity attaches itself to Newhaven, in consequence of the code of laws to which she had the honour of giving birth while an independent colony, and which are opprobriously denominated *blue-laws*. These are the *laws sky blue*, referred to in a poetical extract above; and which are defined in prose, by a kindred authority, to be "a code of absurd and rigorous laws, framed "in the true spirit of puritanic fanaticism." It is to be observed, that these laws are no longer in force; the laws of Connecticut having superseded them, at the union of the colonies, and no part of the laws of Newhaven having been engrafted on the Connecticut code.*

Of these laws, some specimens will be expected by many readers, and may be agreeable to all; but, in order to enter fully into their spirit, we ought previously to be acquainted with the spirit of the government whence they sprung. To this end, it will be useful to peruse the *procés verbal* of the constitution of government,

* Statutes of Connecticut. See the *Advertisement*.

and of the manner in which the constitution was produced, and which is on record as follows :

" THE 4th day of the 4th month, called June, " 1639, all the free planters assembled together " in a general meeting, to consult about settling " civil government according to God, and the " nomination of persons that might be found, " by consent of all, fittest in all respects for the " foundation-work of a church, which was in- " tended to be gathered in Quinipiack.* After so- " lemn invocation of the name of God in prayer, for " the presence and help of his spirit and grace in " those weighty businesses, they were reminded " of the business whereabout they met, *viz.* for " the establishment of such civil order as might be " most pleasing unto God, and for the choosing " the fittest men for the foundation-work of a " church to be gathered. For the better ena- " bling them to discern the mind of God, and " to agree accordingly concerning the establish- " ment of civil order, Mr. John Davenport " propounded divers *queries* to them publicly, " praying them to consider seriously, in the " presence and fear of God, the weight of the " business they met about, and not to be rash or " slight in giving their votes to things they un- " derstood not; but to digest fully and tho-

* Quinipiac, Quinnipauge or Quinnipioke, is the Indian name of Newhaven.

" roughly what should be propounded to them,
" and without respect to men, as they should be
" satisfied and persuaded in their own minds, to
" give their answers in such sort as they would
" be willing should stand upon record for poste-
" rity.

" This being earnestly pressed by Mr. Daven-
" port, Mr. Robert Newman was intreated to
" write, in characters, and to read distinctly and
" audibly in the hearing of all the people, what
" was propounded and accorded on, that it might
" appear, that all consented to matters propound-
" ed, according to words written by him.

" *Query* I. Whether the scriptures do hold
" forth a perfect rule for the direction and go-
" vernment of all men in all duties which they are
" to perform to God and men, as well in fami-
" lies and commonwealth, as in matters of the
" church ?

" *Query* II. Whereas there was a covenant
" solemnly made by the whole assembly of free
" planters of this plantation, the first day of ex-
" traordinary humiliation, which we had after
" we came together, that (as in matters that con-
" cern the gathering and ordering of a church,
" so likewise in all public officers which concern
" civil order, as choice of magistrates and offi-
" cers, making and repealing laws, dividing al-
" lotments of inheritance, and all things of like
" nature) we would all of us be ordered by those

" rules which the scripture holds forth to us,
" which covenant was called a *plantation cove-*
" *nant*, to distinguish it from a *church covenant*,
" which could not at that time be made, a
" church not being then gathered, but was de-
" ferred till a church might be gathered, accord-
" ing to God:—It was demanded, whether all the
" free planters do hold themselves bound by that
" covenant, in all businesses of that nature which
" are expressed in the covenant, to submit them-
" selves to be ordered by the rules held forth in
" the scripture?

" *Query* III. Those who have desired to be re-
" ceived as free planters, and are settled in the
" plantation, with a purpose, resolution and de-
" sire, that they may be admitted into church-
" fellowship, according to Christ, as soon as God
" shall fit them thereunto, were desired to ex-
" press it, by holding up hands?

" Accordingly, all did express this to be their
" desire and purpose, by holding up their hands
" twice, *viz.* at the proposal of it, and after,
" when these written words were read unto
" them.

" *Query* IV. All the free planters were called
" upon to express, whether they held themselves
" bound to establish such civil order as might
" best conduce to the securing of the purity

" and peace of the ordinance to themselves and
" their posterity, according to God?

Query V. Whether free burgesses shall be
" chosen out of the church members, they that
" are in the foundation-work of the church being
" actually free burgesses, and to choose to them-
" selves out of the like estate of church-fellow-
" ship, and the power of choosing magistrates
" and officers from among themselves, and the
" power of making and repealing laws, according
" to the word; and the dividing of inheritances,
" and deciding of differences that may arise,
" and all the businesses of like nature are to be
" transacted by those free burgesses?

" This was put to vote and agreed unto by
" lifting up of hands twice, as in the former it
" was done. Then one man stood up, and ex-
" pressed his dissenting from the rest, in part;
" yet granting, 1. That magistrates should be
" men fearing God; 2. That the church is
" the company where ordinarily such men may
" be expected; 3. That they that choose them
" ought to be men fearing God;—only at this he
" stuck, that free planters ought not to give this
" power out of their hands. Another stood up,
" and answered, that nothing was done, but
" with their consent. The former answered,
" that all the free planters ought to resume this
" power into their own hands again, if things

" were not orderly carried. Mr. Theophilus " Eaton answered, that in all places they choose " committees in like manner. The companies " in London choose the liveries, by whom the " public magistrates are chosen. In this the " rest are not wronged; because they expect, in " time, to be of the livery themselves, and to " have the same power. Some others intreated " the former to give his arguments and reasons, " whereupon he dissented. He refused to do it, " and said, they might not rationally demand it, " seeing he let the vote pass on freely, and did " not speak till after it was past, because he would " not hinder what they agreed upon. Then, Mr. " Davenport, after a short relation of some " former passages between them two about this " question, prayed the company that nothing " might be concluded by them on this weighty " question, but what themselves were persuaded " to be agreeing with the mind of God; and they " had heard what had been said since the vo- " ting: he intreated them again to consider of " it, and put it again to vote, as before. Again " all of them, by holding up their hands, did " show their consent as before. And some of " them confessed, that whereas they did waver " before they came to the assembly, they were " now fully convinced that it is the mind of " God. One of them said, that in the morning

" before he came, reading Deut. xvii. 15. he was
" convinced at home. Another said, that he
" came doubting to the assembly; but he blessed
" God, by what had been said, he was now fully
" satisfied, that the choice of burgesses out of
" church members, and to entrust those with the
" power before spoken of is according to the
" mind of God revealed in the scriptures. All
" having spoken their apprehensions, it was
" agreed upon, and Mr. Robert Newman was
" desired to write it as an order whereunto eve-
" ry one, that hereafter should be admitted here
" as planters, should submit, and testify the same
" by subscribing their names to the order:
" namely, that church members only shall be
" free burgesses, and that they only shall choose
" magistrates and officers among themselves, to
" have power of transacting all the public civil
" affairs of this plantation; of making and re-
" pealing laws, dividing of inheritances, deci-
" ding of differences that may arise, and doing
" all things and businesses of like nature.

" This being thus settled, as a fundamental
" agreement concerning civil government, Mr.
" Davenport proceeded to propound something
" to consideration about the gathering of a
" church, and to prevent the blemishing of the
" first beginnings of the church work, Mr. Da-
" venport advised, that the names of such as

" were to be admitted might be publicly pro-
" pounded, to the end that they who were most
" approved might be chosen; for the town be-
" ing cast into several private meetings, where-
" in they that lived nearest together gave their
" accounts, one to another, of God's gracious
" work upon them, and prayed together, and
" conferred, to their mutual edification, sundry
" of them had knowledge one of another; and
" in every meeting some one was more approved
" of all than any other: for this reason and to
" prevent scandals, the whole company was en-
" treated to consider whom they found fittest to
" nominate for this work.

" *Query* VI. Whether are you all willing and
" do agree in this, that twelve men be chosen,
" that their fitness for the foundation-work may
" be tried; however there may be more named,
" yet it may be in their power, who are chosen, to
" reduce them to twelve, and that it be in the
" power of those twelve to choose out of them-
" selves seven, that shall be most approved of
" by the major part, to begin the church?

" This was agreed upon by the consent of all,
" as was expressed by holding up of hands; and
" that so many as should be thought fit for the
" foundation-work of the church, shall be pro-
" pounded by the plantation, and written down
" and pass without exception, unless they had

" given public scandal or offence. Yet so, as in " case of public scandal or offence, every one " should have liberty to propound their except- " tion, at that time, publicly against any man, " that should be nominated, when all their names " should be writ down. But, if the offence were " private, that men's names might be *tendered*, " so many as were offended were entreated to " deal with the offender privately; and, if he gave " not satisfaction, to bring the matter to the " twelve, that they might consider of it impar- " tially, and in the fear of God."

CHAPTER XXX.

Connecticut—Newhaven Blue-laws.

THROUGH the kindness of a gentleman in Newhaven, an opportunity was afforded me of inspecting the manuscript records of the colony, including its ancient laws. My time, however, was short, and the manuscripts were long; so that I made little use of the advantage, and I am now indebted to a modern historian for the extracts that are subjoined. But, this author gives us the sense, and not the words, a mode of transcription very little satisfactory; a mode, in the adoption of which a writer should

rarely trust himself, and in which he is rarely to be trusted.

As to the substance of the specimen subjoined, a part will discover the little subordination to the mother country, acknowledged from the first, by the *dominion* of Newhaven; a part is distinguished by unnecessary rigour; a part by ignorance and injustice; a part is common to all the codes, ancient and modern, in New England; a part is unexceptionable; and only a small remainder is strictly characteristic of the particular persons from whom it came.

"THE governor and magistrates, convened in "general assembly, are the supreme power, un- "der God, of this independent dominion.

"From the determination of the assembly no "appeal shall be made.

"The governor is amenable to the voice of "the people.

"The governor shall have only a single vote "in determining any question; except a casting "vote, when the assembly may be equally di- "vided.

"The assembly of the people shall not be "dismissed by the governor, but shall dismiss "itself.

"Conspiracy against this dominion shall be "punished with death.

" Whoever says there is a power and jurisdic-
" tion above and over this dominion, shall suffer
" death and loss of property.

" Whoever attempts to change or overturn
" this dominion shall suffer death.

" The judges shall determine controversies
" without a jury.

" No one shall be a freeman, or give a vote,
" unless he be converted, and a member in full
" communion of one of the churches allowed in
" this dominion.

" No man shall hold any office, who is not
" sound in the faith, and faithful to this domi-
" nion; and whoever gives a vote to such a per-
" son, shall pay a fine of £1. For a second of-
" fence, he shall be disfranchised.

" Each freeman shall swear by the blessed God
" to bear true allegiance to this dominion, and
" that Jesus is the only king.

" No quaker or dissenter from the established
" worship of this dominion, shall be allowed to
" give a vote for the election of magistrates, or
" any officer.

" No food or lodging shall be afforded to a
" quaker, Adamite or other heretic.

" If any person turns quaker, he shall be ba-
" nished, and not suffered to return, but upon
" pain of death.

" No priest shall abide in the dominion: he " shall be banished, and suffer death on his re- " turn. Priests may be seized by any one with- " out a warrant.

" No one to cross a river, but with an autho- " rised ferryman.

" No one shall run on the sabbath-day, or " walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reve- " rently to and from meeting.

" No one shall travel, cook victuals, make " beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave, on the " sabbath-day.

" No woman shall kiss her child on the sab- " bath or fasting-day.

" The sabbath shall begin at sunset on Satur- " day.

" To pick an ear of corn growing in a neigh- " bour's garden, shall be deemed theft.

" A person accused of trespass in the night " shall be judged guilty, unless he clear himself " by his oath.

" When it appears that an accused has confe- " derates, and he refuses to discover them, he " may be racked.

" No one shall buy or sell lands without per- " mission of the selectmen.

" A drunkard shall have a master appointed " by the selectmen, who are to debar him from " the liberty of buying and selling.

" Whoever publishes a lie to the prejudice of " his neighbour, shall sit in the stocks, or be " whipped fifteen stripes.

" No minister shall keep a school.

" Every ratable person, who refuses to pay " his proportion to the support of the minister of " the town or parish, shall be fined by the court " £2, and £4 every quarter, until he or she shall " pay the rate to the minister.

" Men-stealers shall suffer death.

" Whoever wears clothes trimmed with gold, " silver, or bone lace, above two shillings by the " yard, shall be presented by the grand jurors, " and the selectmen shall tax the offender at " £300 estate.

" A debtor in prison, swearing he has no " estate, shall be let out, and sold, to make sa- " tisfaction.

" Whoever sets a fire in the woods, and it " burns a house, shall suffer death; and persons " suspected of this crime shall be imprisoned, " without benefit of bail.

" Whoever brings cards or dice into this do- " minion shall pay a fine of £5.

" No one shall read common-prayer, keep " Christmas or saint-days, make minced pies, " dance, play cards, or play on any instrument " of music, except the drum, trumpet and jews- " harp.

"No gospel minister shall join people in mar-
" riage; the magistrates only shall join in mar-
" riage, as they may do it with less scandal to
" Christ's church.

"When parents refuse their children conve-
" nient marriages, the magistrates shall deter-
" mine the point.

"The selectmen, on finding children igno-
" rant, may take them away from their parents,
" and put them into better hands, at the expense
" of their parents.

"Fornication shall be punished by compel-
" ling marriage, or as the court may think pro-
" per.

"Adultery shall be punished with death.

"A man that strikes his wife shall pay a fine
" of £10; a woman that strikes her husband
" shall be punished as the court directs.

"A wife shall be deemed good evidence
" against her husband.

"No man shall court a maid in person, or by
" letter, without first obtaining consent of her pa-
" rents; £5 penalty for the first offence; £10
" for the second; and, for the third, imprison-
" ment during the pleasure of the court.

"Married persons must live together, or be
" imprisoned.

"Every male shall have his hair cut round ac-
" cording to a cap."

" Of such sort were the laws made by the peo-
" ple of Newhaven, previous to their incorpora-
" tion with Saybrook and Hartford colonies by
" the charter. They consist of a vast multitude,
" and were very properly termed *Blue Laws;*
" i. e. *bloody laws;* for they were all sanctified
" with excommunication, confiscation, fines, ba-
" nishment, whippings, cutting off the ears,
" burning the tongue, and death."*

With respect to the epithet *blue*, I believe the writer is mistaken, when he explains it by *bloody;* or, at least, that in whatever sense it was or is applied to the laws of Newhaven, its original import was no more than *presbyterian* or *puritan*. It appears to have been so used in Scotland, where it originated.

* A General History of Connecticut, &c. By a Gentleman of the Province. Second edition, London, 1788. The author of this work is now commonly known to be the Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Connecticut—New London.

TILL lately, the entire country, between the Connecticut and the Thames, was comprised within two towns, of which the western is called Lyme, and the eastern New London. This country, over which I passed on the seventeenth of June, presents little beside a succession of rocky hills. The soil, however, is strong, and very profitable to the dairy farmer. In these situations, moisture and consequent verdure are preserved, long after those of more favourable aspects are parched with drought. Early droughts are the misfortunes which, in this country, the farmer usually has to fear; but the present season is universally remarked, not for its dryness, but its too abundant rains.

Lyme is said to have been called by the Indians *Nehantic*. Its settlement commenced about the year 1644; and it was incorporated as a *town* in 1667. In 1790, it contained 3,859 inhabitants. It is this year rated in the grand list at 79,737 dollars and 50 cents, and appears

to feed considerably more than eight thousand sheep. It is divided into three societies, exclusive of a society of anabaptists, and another of *separatists*, or of the *new light*, which it either now does, or lately did, contain. The society or parish in the northern part of Lyme abuts upon East Haddam; and I understand that a new town is projected in this quarter, to be taken out of East Haddam and Lyme, and named, in grateful memory of its parents, *Hadlyme*.

Having crossed the Connecticut at Saybrook Ferry, the direct road to New London was by the bridge that has been thrown over Rope-ferry river; but this bridge, like the others, having been carried away by the floods or freshes, here called *freshets*, I travelled by what is called the upper road. The whole distance is about nineteen miles.

After descending into a small, but pleasant valley, where, for a short space the rocky surface is exchanged for sand, the road rises again into a lofty region, of which the eastern brow surveys New London, its harbour, and Fort Griswold on the opposite heights.

Nothing can be said of the luxuriance of the prospect that is here presented, of its lawns or shades, its meadows, glades or groves; but it has a wild majesty and greatness, which, seeing it, as I did, under serene and splendid

skies, impressed me strongly with its beauty. Rocks jut forth on every side; or, lying in innumerable masses, whiten all the hills, as if with flocks of sheep; little wood is to be seen; and the whole surface is broken, but the expanse is large, the level diversified, and there is a magnificent breadth of water under the eye. In the front-ground, at our feet, are the buildings of New London, among which the house of General Huntington is an embellishment. Fort Griswold, in Groton, on the other side of the river, shows its neglected and decaying bastions.

Descending the hill that is above the High-street, I proceeded to Poole's Hotel, where, owing to the county-court, which was then sitting, the company was large.

New London, that is, the New London of which I am now speaking, is a city, formed of part of New London, the town: the town is the county-town of the county of New London. The port of New London is a port of entry.

The town occupies the western shore of Pequod Harbour, long since called the River Thames: the names handed down from the Indians are *Mameag* and *Towawog*, by both which names it is occasionally described by historians. It was first colonized in 1666. That part of the ancient town, which lies on Long-island Sound,

is now disjoined from the remainder, and denominated Waterford. The population, in 1790, was 4,600; and in 1800, 5,150. The grand list, for the present year, is 44,209 dollars and 52 cents. The number of sheep is only twenty.

The city, which was incorporated in 1784, contains two churches; one congregational, and one of the church of England.

The county court-house is in a very ruinous state; and idle boys and others are in the constant practice of making it more so, by breaking its windows. All these buildings are of wood.

The private houses are in general less showy than those of Newhaven; but several of them are substantial and commodious. A stone house, the residence of the Hon. Judge Perkins, is one of the few that escaped the flames that were set to the village, by the troops under General Arnold, in 1781. General Huntington's house is in that style of architecture called the *cottage style*, or cottage *ornée*. The number of houses may be about three hundred; but many of them are small, and inhabited by poor families.

Beside the churches and court-house already mentioned, the other public buildings are a freemason's hall, and a county-gaol and poor-house. In the latter, of which the ar-

rangements are excellent, there are twenty poor.

The city is abundantly supplied with fish, of which, at this season, lobsters and various other kinds, are kept alive in lears or wells, attached to the wharfs. At a large breakfast-table at the hotel, I counted eleven dishes of fish, placed alternately with as many dishes of butcher's meat.

The exports of the district of New London, for the year ending September 30th, 1794, amounted to 557,453 dollars; and among the items were a thousand mules, shipped for the West Indies.

The value of the shipping belonging to New-London, on the 16th of May, 1807, estimated at fifty dollars per ton, amounted to four hundred and forty-eight thousand, eight hundred and five dollars.

Fifty-five smacks, of the estimated value of a thousand dollars each, belonged at the same time to the *district*, and were employed in the fisheries. The value of the fish taken, on an average by each smack, is 1,550 dollars annually.

Value of fish taken by fifty-five smacks, for one year,	$ 23,250,
Do. vessels in the employ,	55,000.

The vessels licensed for the fisheries, in the district of New London, in 1806, were of from fourteen tons to one hundred and seventy-seven.

The dried fish, taken by the vessels belonging to this district, and fitted out last season, amounted to 29,272 quintals, and was worth 117,088 dollars.

The following vessels and cargoes, sailed for Europe the last year, from the district of New London: cargoes taken in at Green Island: viz.

Ship Ann Williams,		
valued at	$ 24,000	
Cargo 5,780 quintals of fish,		
at $ 4	23,120	
Provisions and one month's		
wages,	1,000	
		48,120
Brig Friendship,	4,000	
Cargo 1800 quintals of fish,		
at 4 dollars,	7,200	
50 barrels of oil,	700	
Provisions, &c.	500	
		12,400
Brig Harlequin,	4,000	
Cargo 2,400 quintals of fish,	9,600	
Provisions, &c.	550	
		14,150
Brig Dolphin,	5,500	
Cargo 2,480 quintals of fish,	9,920	
Provisions, &c.	560	
		15,980

Schooner Thetis,	3,000	
Cargo 1,100 quintals of fish,	4,400	
Provisions, &c.	450	
		7,850
Schooner Phœbe,	3,200	
Cargo 1,200 quintals of fish,	4,800	
Provisions, &c.	350	
		8,350
Ship Franklin,	6,500	
Cargo 3,300 quintals of fish,	13,200	
Provisions, &c.	800	
		20,500
Total value of vessels, cargoes, &c. *		$127,350

* These statements, and the schedule that follows them, were obtained through the favour of a gentleman by whom they were collected for the information of the general assembly; but I am apprehensive that there is some mistake in the copying, as to the amount of tonnage for 1795, as it now appears in the schedule.—From a certificate, appended to the account of the vessels and cargoes for 1806, it appears that parts of the ships Franklin and Ann Williams were owned in New York, with parts of their cargoes.

Schedule of exports and imports—district of New London, for the year 1807.

Vessels cleared for foreign ports.	Value of exports of all kinds.	Vessels entered with goods subject to duty.	Amount of imports.	Amount of tonnage owned in the district, at the close of the year.	For what years.
146	577,973 39	85	86,368, 17	10,392, 26	1795
162	850,076	89	86,787, 63		1796
113	433,373	80	94,218, 82		1797
123	497,148	76	96,223, 01		1798
148	624,100	88	97,597, 82		1799
163	654,419	93	96,012, 00	12,261, 05	1800
150	750,634	93	78,475, 17		1801
150	632,246	99	94,644, 04		1802
135	603,811	63	68,171, 85		1803
148	722,939	81	112,745, 44		1804
130	725,722, 94	100	156,635, 48		1805
142	814,868, 19	109	214,918, 25	12,823, 81	1806

JOHN HUNTINGTON, Collector.

Collector's Office, New-London, 1807.

The harbour is said to be large, safe and commodious, with five fathoms water. It is defended by a stockaded fort, on the same side with and a little below the city, called Fort Trumbull, and garrisoned with a sergeant's guard by the United States. Fort Griswold is neglected, but is still in a state to admit of a speedy repair. It consists in a brick barrack, defended by a ditch and four bastions, inclosing a spacious area.

On the beach, in Waterford, opposite Fisher's Island, some expensive salt works have been erected, by Mr. Fennel, an Englishman, who, having made large gains in the United States, by the display of his powers as a tragedian, hoped much from investing them in this establishment. Much salt is made from sea-water, in the neighbourhood of Boston, by a simple though somewhat tedious process; but Mr. Fennel had employed an apparatus, considerably more expensive, but from which he hoped to derive a proportionate degree of benefit for himself and others. Unhappily, a variety of pecuniary difficulties arose among the partners; and to these were added some serious devastations of the resistless ocean, breaking in storms upon the sands. These causes, uniting themselves together, have occasioned Mr. Fennel the total loss of the large sums of money which he had risked.

I found this gentleman at New London, and accompanied him on a visit to the scene of his misfortunes. The invention on which he had relied is this: salt is to be made from sea-water, by the aid of two or three contrivances, and dependent on evaporation by the solar heat. In what way this evaporation is usually forwarded, I shall hereafter have occasion to describe; but that which was conceived and reduced to practice by a Mr. Fennel, consists in alternately sinking and raising by machinery, cylinders of common fishing-nets, in tubs or vats, filled with sea-water. The water being thus continually moved, and even lifted into the atmosphere, on the multiplied surfaces of the meshes, necessarily evaporates with increased rapidity. Other circumstances, however, may perhaps be less favourable in this, than in the common method, and the difference of expense in the apparatus is great.

Be this as it may, Mr. Fennel and his partners had erected nineteen of these tubs or vats, which, with nineteen wheels, of twelve feet diameter each, and various other works, were erected on the beach.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Connecticut—Montville—Moheagan Lands—Norwich—Lebanon.

LEAVING unexplored the towns of Groton and Stonington, which stretch from the Thames to the frontier of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, but of which I saw reason to believe that the description would very nearly agree with that of Lyme and New London;—namely, that they consist in tracts of hilly and rocky pastures, and that the inhabitants divide their cares between the ocean, the fisheries and the soil;—leaving these, I went up to the banks of the Thames, toward Norwich, the fifth and last of the cities of Connecticut, as they have happened to fall under my review.

Between New London and Norwich, is a tract of land, the last remnant of territory, left to the last remnant of a people once numerous and warlike here, and called Moheagan Indians. The land is a narrow slip, lying along the banks of the Thames, above the mouth of Stony Brook, and between the former river and the town of Montville; and containing two thousand seven hunhundred acres.

In 1633, the Indian population of Connecticut appears to have been equal to eight persons for each square mile. The Moheagans, as well as the other nations, were numerous in this proportion. In 1643, Uncas, their chief, fought the Narragansetts, on the Sachem's Plain, in Norwich, with from five to six hundred followers. In 1774, an enumeration of the Moheagans made them amount to one thousand six hundred and sixty-three souls. In 1797, the survivors were supposed to be four hundred. Those now remaining, on the Moheagan Lands, are sixty-nine in number; but a part of their proper population emigrated, some time since, under the charge of Mr. Occome, a Moheagan preacher, to Brotherton, an Indian village adjoining Stockbridge, in New York. But the entire population of Brotherton was stated, more than ten years ago, at only a hundred and fifty souls.

The sixty-nine souls remaining comprehend, for the most part, very aged persons, widows and fatherless children. The young men go to sea, and die. The community is under the care of guardians, or superintendants, appointed by the assembly; and is further governed by legislative provisions, designed both to protect it, and to prevent its necessities from becoming burdensome to the public. A part of the lands are occupied by the Indians themselves, and a part by

their tenants; the rents going into a common fund, from which they derive individually a small annual sum in money. A part of the lands lately belonging to them have been sold, under the authority of the legislature, and the proceeds applied, in part to building wooden houses for their accommodation, and in part to the establishment of a small permanent fund. The houses, which contain two rooms each, several of the owners let to white people, contenting themselves with wigwams, or more properly with huts; for the hut of the Moheagan, in his modern indigence, is not to be compared with the wigwam of his forefathers. Mr. Haughton, one of the guardians of the Indians, did me the favour to carry me to several of their houses, and over their lands.

Montville was formerly a part of New London. It has one ecclesiastical and school society within itself, in which there are nine schools; and two others, of which parts belong to the adjoining towns. New Salem extends into Bozra. Almost the whole population is united in the congregational persuasion in matters of religion, and in federalism in politics. The soil is favourable to grazing, and the produce sent out of the town is principally butter and cheese. Its average crops of rye amount to thirty-five bushels per acre. The road, from New London, which is

exceedingly good, runs either through woods, or along the edge of lofty banks, that overlook the river. By the way side, one or two solitary grave-stones present themselves on the farms. Opposite Montville, in Groton, is a rocky mountain; a cavern in which bears the name of Uncas's Chair. It is the place of shelter to which he fled. on a surprise by the Pequots. When the danger was over an ancestor of Mr. Haughton's went over the river to him in a canoe, and brought him safely back to his domain. In gratitude, he presented his deliverer with a tract of land.

What is called the Thames is no other than the lower portion of the Willamantic, which, flowing out of a small, but deep lake or pond, in Stafford, is joined at Norwich by the Yantic, a river there called the *little river*. At the same place, the Willamantic is called the Shetucket. Before its confluence with the Yantic it is of no magnitude; but, immediately at this point, it is able to maintain a sea-port, that is possessed of from four to five thousand tons of shipping.

The city of Norwich comprehends a certain portion of the town, lying on the banks of the navigable part of the river, and including the society of Chelsea, otherwise called Norwich-landing. It was incorporated in 1784; and, in

common with almost all the other settlements in the United States, its advance, since the year 1792, has been rapid. A neck of land, of great value at the present moment, was bought, only a few years since, for a quantity of lumber, which had been refused a purchaser at the price of six dollars. Ship-building is one of the employments here; and there are usually four or five vessels on the stocks. Many manufactures are pursued in the town and city; such as of stockings, clocks and watches, buttons, earthenware, chocolate and wire. The rivers abound in mill-seats, many of which are occupied by oil, fulling, grist and saw-mills, and iron-works. The public buildings are an *academy* or grammar-school, one congregational church, and one of the church of England. The church of England was formerly maintained by the society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The congregationalists pay no tax for the support of their clergyman, the funds for that purpose being drawn from the rents received for the pews. This city, like that of New London, lies on one of the great roads between New York and Boston.

Contiguous to the wharfs are two scenes of romantic beauty, one on the right and the other on the left: on the left, a lofty knoll, overlooking the river, above and below, and covered with the

dwarf flowering laurel *kalmia angustifolia*.* Down the river is the port, with its shipping; and up, the verdant and shady banks of the Shetucket, over which there is a bridge, a hundred and twenty-four feet in length. The entire flooring is rested on the abutments: no piers nor tressels, placed in the channel, being found able to resist the floods that swell this river in the spring. On the knoll, the inhabitants assemble, on their holiday of the Fourth of July, or Independent or Independence Day.

On the right, are the falls of the *little river*, ten or twelve feet deep, and having much variety and beauty. At their feet are several of the holes common in such situations, and which are produced by the circular motion of stones, prolonged for ages. If a stone happens to find a lodgment on a bed of rock, the torrent, in continually attempting to drive it onward, only com-

* The honey, collected by bees from the flower of this vegetable, is said to be of a poisonous quality.—Decoctions of the leaves have been tried with success in diarrhœa; but too strong a dose induces vertigo. Itch is cured by an external application of the same. *Dr. Thomas's Inaugural Dissertation. Philadelphia*, 1802. Scald head has been cured by an ointment prepared from the leaves. *Dr. Barton's Collections for a Materia Medica.* It is pretended that death has followed on eating the flesh of pheasants that have fed on the leaves of the broad-leaved laurel or calico-tree, *kalmia latifolia.* New York Med. Repos. Vol. i.

municates a rotatory motion, by means of which it soon wears for itself a deeper and securer cell. Within this cell, the continued motion occasions the stone to hollow out a still wider circle, and still deeper cavity. Some of the cavities, at these falls, are said to be six feet deep. They are often found in rocks that are below cataracts, though the water never rises to their level but in the time of floods; and often in those, to the level of which the water, robbed of its ancient volume, no longer rises at all.

On a woody eminence adjacent, where I was led by Mr. Perkins, of Norwich, (a gentleman to whose cordial manners and disposition I am not in this instance only indebted,) are the graves of the Moheagans. The spot, which is nearly overgrown with trees and shrubs, overhangs the river, conformably with the constant practice of the Indians, who always bury on the banks of a river, or on the margin of lakes or the ocean. Several mossy stones, hewn, decorated and inscribed, by English artists, distinguish the graves of particulars; but especially of the Uncases, members of the family in which was the hereditary chieftainship, but which is now extinct. On one, the inscription begins with *Here lies the second and beloved son of his father, John Uncas,* &c.—another has this: *In memory of Elizabeth*

Joquib, the daughter of Mahomet, great grandchild of the first Uncas, Sachem of the Moheagans, who died July 5, 1750, *aged* 33 *years.*— But this father of Elizabeth Joquib, and great grandchild of the first Uncas, was surely never baptized; he had else been named Seth or Ebenezer, rather than *Mahomet.* It is observable, that the grave-stones of the Uncases, executed, like the rest, at the charge and under the direction of the Indians, are marked with sculptured *suns;* whence it may be suspected that the chiefs of the Northern Indians, like those of the Southern, claimed, if not an affinity with that luminary, at least to be typified by his beams.—A modern Uncas, who died in the prime of life, and who is still remembered in this neighbourhood, is thus celebrated, on one of the stones:

"SAMUEL UNCAS.

"For beauty, wit, for sterling sense,
"For temper mild, for eloquence,
"For courage bold, for things *waureegan,*
"He was the glory of Moheagan:
"Whose death has caused great lamentation,
"Both in the English and the Indian nation."*

* These lines were written by Dr. Tracy, of Norwich. *Things waureegan* imply, as I am informed, clothes, household furniture, &c. of a costly description. Samuel Uncas was therefore a man of substance; or, in the phrase of the colonists, a *good liver*

While the last of the Uncases remained, the Moheagans felt some pride of condition; but, since his death, they have become dispirited, and have rapidly decayed. Mr. Haughton, of Montville, assured me, that his father remembered them, when they had a delight in the bow and arrow, and possessed two hundred men that could use it; but they have now no Indian practice left, except that of discussing their affairs in council. The few Indians, that remain in Connecticut, are severally settled on the Moheagan lands, in Stonington, in Farmington, and at Scaticook; in addition to whom there is a little village of Nehantics, in or near Danbury.*

* The estimate, at page 299, supposes a population of 40,000 souls upon a surface of something less than five thousand square miles. Dr. Trumbull allows but sixteen or twenty thousand; but his data appear to afford a larger result. In the year 1638, within the present limits of Windsor, Hartford, Wethersfield and Middletown, there were understood to be from three to four thousand *fighting-men*; and, in 1670, Windsor alone is expressly stated to have had two thousand, it being computed that the Indian fighting-men were to the English as nineteen to one. But three or four thousand fighting men supposes a population of fifteen or twenty thousand souls, within only those limits that are above described.

Nor is the allowance of eight souls to a square mile, on the banks of the Connecticut, and on the neighbouring coasts, at absolute variance with the estimate of Mr.

On the banks of the Quinnibaug, the shistic stratums, which, in New England, are generally inclined, (the dip being to the east,) are seen in a vertical position. In this neighbourhood, some of the farmers are partial to a remarkable variety of sheep, which they call the *otter-sheep*. As in the otter, its fore legs are bowed outward; and this to such a degree, that the animal appears to walk upon its knees. In other respects, it is a well made sheep, of a small size. From the embarrassment with which it moves, it may be supposed sedentary, and disposed to fatten; but one of its recommendations has been, its inability to leap the fences. The fences, however, are walls of uncemented stones; and the sheep, unable to leap them, is obliged to climb, and is hence continually pulling them down. From the few persons that are acquainted with this sheep or its

Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, (agreed to by Dr. Williams, in his History of Vermont,) who allows but one soul to each square mile, for the total Indian population of North America; for, admitting this to be just, still a particular tract of country, extraordinarily favourable to subsistence, and such, even to the Indians, was that which comprises the banks of the Connecticut. Many others had disproportionate shares of the whole number; and some were comparatively solitudes. M. Volney, upon this subject, presents us only with the most unwarrantable deductions.

history, I have uniformly understood it to be a tradition, that it originated on the banks of a body of water, in Brimfield, in Massachusetts. The water once abounded in otters; and the ewes, feeding on its banks, produced, it is said, otter-legged lambs: but, this fact admitted, physiologists will find it difficult to believe, that an accidental deformity, in this, as in any other instance, can be capable of perpetuation. Yet farmers buy otter-sheep, and breed otter-sheep from them; and, what is extraordinary, when a *lusus naturæ* presents itself in the breed, it consists in a straight-legged sheep. The lambs of an otter-ewe will ordinarily be otter-sheep, but they are sometimes straight-legged. Of twin-lambs, one will often be straight-legged. In the three or four other flocks that I have seen, there have been uniformly a certain number of straight-legged sheep.

From Norwich to Lebanon, the town above it, on the north-west, there is a fertile and well-settled country. The road leads along lofty pasture-lands that command, on the north-east, the valley of the Willamantic, and through that particular society in Lebanon which is called *Lebanon*. The town includes three others, lying to the westward, and called Goshen, Exeter and Columbia. In the society of Lebanon, the village comprises some well built houses of wood, with a large and handsome church of red brick, with

a spire, and which is not yet wholly finished. Its cost is estimated at six thousand dollars. Lands, in Lebanon, are generally worth from sixty to seventy dollars per acre.

The lands in Connecticut obtain, in almost all situations, a good price; and it appears not to be too high an estimate to take their average value at from forty to fifty dollars per acre. In Berlin, lands on the road side can be sold at a hundred dollars per acre; and in the same neighbourhood, entire farms, including portions of rocky wood-lands, are worth forty dollars per acre. It is said to be demonstrated, that some of the best mowing-lands in Connecticut are twice as profitable as the best wheat-lands in New York. Connecticut raises large quantities of flax, maize, rye and pompions. Hemp, oats, barley and wheat, and especially the last, are objects of inferior magnitude. Wheat is raised wherever it is supposed possible to do so, in safety from the insect commonly called the Hessian fly. The chief agricultural wealth consists in the pastures and mowing-lands. In 1800, for the encouragement of the raising of sheep, an act passed the assembly, granting a deduction, from the amount of ratable property, of seventy-five cents for shorn sheep, ten months old, and sheared in the season preceding the making out of the list. A little calculation will show us, that the annual premi-

um held out to the farmer, in consequence of this effort of profound and liberal policy, actually amounts to ten cents and a half per score of sheep.*

In Lebanon is the modest mansion of His Excellency Governor Trumbull, in whom an unassuming, gentlemanly and prepossessing deportment is united with a sound understanding and decided plan of action. It is highly creditable to him, that placed at the head of a government, wearing that dangerous exterior, the pretence to extraordinary piety and religion, and surrounded by governments less distinguished

* This specimen of law-making can only be equalled by another, to be found in the same collection. In the year 1799, an act passed the assembly, to incorporate what is intimated, in the preamble, to be a *literary society*, but which is nevertheless styled the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences; and by the fourth and last section of the act, " *it is further enacted*, That " this act, or any part thereof, if found inadequate or " inconvenient, may be altered, amended or repealed." —But, why did the assembly assert its undoubted prerogative, in respect of all its acts, on the sole occasion of this particular act? Was the section inserted by the members of the incorporation, or by some notable constitutionalist and patriot? Whether it were inserted by the one or the other, it was inserted to please or to pacify a powerful portion of the community; a portion which hates the letters and science, as connecting these with the established religion, and the established religion with federal politics.

in this respect, his speeches and public papers are more free than, any others that I am acquainted with, from pulpit-topics. They are at the same time equally to be praised for their freedom from philosophical disquisition, and confinement to matters of business; and for the just conception which they hence discover in their author, that when his fellow-citizens placed him in the chair of government, they did not place him in the chair of a professor. Another subject of immortal honour to his memory, and which, at the same time evinces, that a governor of Connecticut, limited as we have seen his powers to be, is not absolutely incapable of doing a public service, is the part that he performed on an occasion that presented itself some time after I left the republic :—it was Governor Trumbull alone, that when the government of the United States, in the very face of the letter of the constitution, assumed to itself the command of the militias of the particular states;—it was Governor Trumbull alone that had the penetration to detect the amazing mistake, or the virtue, detecting it, to expose it, and to take the stand it called for.*

* When I visited Connecticut, Governor Trumbull was alive. He died on the 7th day of August, 1809. The tranaction, of which I have in a manner anticipated the date, took place early in the spring of 1809.

CHAPTER LX.

Connecticut—Windham—Willington.

ON the northern boundary of Connecticut, is Stafford, a town abounding in iron-ore, and in which, on the banks of the Willamantic, there is a chalybeate spring. Between Lebanon and Stafford, I passed through Windham and Willington.

Windham is the county town of the county of Windham; and its principal village, were it not built of wood, might be said to bear the general appearance of a small English market-town. It contains a court-house, gaol, grammar-school and congregational church.

Having expressed to the Honourable Judge Swift, one of the judges of the supreme court, and an inhabitant of Windham, a wish to visit the gaol, that gentleman was so obliging as to accompany me there. On ascending into one of the apartments occupied by the prisoners, we found in it three white men and one black. Two of the white men were charged with felonies. The black man stood in a corner of the room,

at a humble distance; but two of the white men were sitting on the side of a bed, where continuing to sit, they saluted the judge with a friendly nod, and *how do ye?* and held out their hands, which common courtesy therefore required him to shake. The walls of the gaol are of triple or quadruple plank, and are thought to be strong. Judge Swift possesses a very handsome residence, a little out of the village. The house stands in the middle of a lawn, and in that and other respects bears more resemblance to an English gentleman's country residence than any other that I saw in Connecticut. It commands one of those prospects that are not only extensive but rich, though without water. At the inn in Windham, I met the Reverend Mr. Samuel Austin, of Newhaven, who had arrived in a cotton morning-gown, to preach before a lodge of freemasons on the following day, the twenty-fourth of June.

Stopping for a short time in Willington, the town that lies between Windham and Stafford, and asking for something at an inn, the mistresscalled upon *Minerva* to fetch it; and I afterward found that names, of this and other profane origins, are common among the female part of the community in New England; while those borne by the male are almost uniformly scriptural: a few of the old puritanic inventions remain; as *Return*, *Increase*, &c. but Elizur,

Abner, Jared and Enoch, are among the most common; always saving *Jonathan*, which is known to be synonymous with *New England.*

In Willington, the following manuscript advertisement met my eye:

"Willington, June 1st, 1807.

"The subscribers wish to informe the publick, that "we are erected on the blue Dyes at Peck's Miles; and "we would thank the peoblick for their custome."

"*Emery White.*
"*William Ramsay.*"

It would be idle to notice, as in this instance, the defects of rustic orthography, except with the view of correcting any false impression that may be made on the reader's mind, by my account of the schools in Connecticut. I have already said, that the benefit is limited. The truth is, that the schooling, as from the nature of the thing it must be, though very general, is very humble. In the bill of an innkeeper and physician, one of the items charged me was, *Medson for your hors.*

Stafford Springs are distant about twenty miles from the village of Windham. In the course of the few days that I spent at them, I made a retrogade journey into Willington, to an anabaptist meeting-house.

The building had never been the most sumptuous, and it was now much out of repair. The exterior presented unpainted boards and broken windows. On entering, a seat was immediately offered me, and I accepted it. At my back was the gallery that fronted the pulpit, and which, therefore, by fixed usage, contained the singers, and these, of course, were the fairest of the nymphs and the comeliest of the swains. One circumstance long distressed me. All the swains, as is common with all the swains in Connecticut, chewed tobacco. In consequence, they had an overflowing secretion of saliva to discharge. It was discharged, as is usual in like circumstances, on the floor of the middle aisle; but, as there was only the wainscot of the pew between myself and the aisle, ejection after ejection, incessant from twenty mouths, kept me in constant alarm. Indeed, I soon perceived that the skill of my friends above was exquisite, and that the black juice, which presently covered the floor of the aisle, was always directed with so true an aim, as to arrive precisely at its place—I ought to say its precise point—of destination. But, alas! the demonstrations of experience and reason do not always remove, as they ought, the misgivings of our hearts.

Meanwhile, my eyes and ears had still other employment. Those who filled the pews below

were generally elderly. The day was warm, but damp, and even rainy. Under the pulpit, on the left, sat a gentleman with a patch on one eye. Behind him, two panes of glass were out. To keep the wind from his neck, his hat was thrust through one of the apertures; and his coat, which the general temperature of his body enabled him to dispense with, was taken off, and applied to the other. Thus, he sat in his shirt sleeves; but, to prevent a cold in his head, that part was covered with a coloured handkerchief. In a corner, sat a neighbour, with his coat hung over his arm; and those that were near the windows had in most instances guarded their heads with handkerchiefs.

After hymns and a long prayer, in which, as is usual in extemporaneous prayer, there was a sermon to the deity, informing him of all his attributes, and of some of the latest news on earth, the preacher announced his text, which was no other than that very celebrated one in the book of Genesis, *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come.**

I regretted for a moment, the choice. I supposed, that in a sermon drawn from this text, the preacher would take the ordinary route, and

* Genesis, chap. xlix. v. 10.

employ biblical learning in making it appear, that the Shiloh of the prophecy is the Messiah of the New Testament, and that in the Messiah the prophecy was fulfilled; and, on points of biblical learning, I suspected that the divine to whom I was to listen would but repeat what other divines had said before, and had said much better than he was likely to say them.

I was mistaken. The preacher took a path of his own, and one that I believe had some originality; making no other use of his text than to infer from it the fore-knowledge of the deity. The prophecy, as the reader will remember, is one of a series delivered by Jacob to his sons; and, this point being explained, the preacher proceeded: "You see, the way that the old man come to "know this was, that God tell'd him—God "knows every thing, and so he tell'd him all "what all his sons would come to. You see, "the old man knew that he was come to die— "he felt, somehow, that he was come to die— "(perhaps God tell'd him—I don't know in "particular—it does not seem to be set down;— "but, somehow, the old man, he knew that his "time was come for him to die)—so, you see, he "sent for all his sons—for all his sons—all of "'em—some were out in the fields—some in "barn—no matter—they all had to come—

" and then he tell'd 'em every thing—tell'd " 'em every thing—all what they'd do! You " see God knows every thing—so he tell'd the " old man every thing—so then the old man " tell'd them every thing—all what they'd do— " in all their lives—and all what their children " would do;—for God knows every thing—and " he tell'd the old man every thing—every one " thing!—*Simeon and Levi are brethren*—but " they had instruments of cruelty in their habi- " tations—the old man did not like 'em—*O my* " *soul*, says he, *come not thou into their secret!* " that is, don't have any to do with 'em—for " they were cruel men, you see—*in their anger* " *they slew a man, and in their self-will they* " *digged down a wall.*

" Well, then, the old man, he comes next to " Judah—and Judah seems to be a great favour- " ite!—*Thy hand shall be in the neck of thine ene-* " *mies; thy father's children shall bow down be-* " *fore thee.* Well, and so it happened, all what " the old man tell'd 'em—all happened just as " he tell'd 'em—he did not tell 'em no lies— " for God tell'd him every thing—and God did " not tell the old man any lies—not any lies at " all—it all happened, as you'll see—in—in— " in—well it's no matter—I can't find the " places just now—(I could look 'em up.)

" *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah*---
" that is, you see, the old man tell'd Judah how
" he should be a king, and how all his children
" should be kings.—You see a sceptre's a—
" a thing that a king always carries with him
" (I never saw a king)—a sceptre is a kind of a
" staff, you see—it's made with several things
" (I could look 'em up)—kivered all over with
" silver and gold (I never saw a sceptre.)—You
" see, your great people, they carry different
" sorts of things, to show what they are—so,
" you see, a king he carries a sceptre---like, as I
" am told, a president of a college, (I never saw a
" president of a college,) he carries a great staff---
" so, you see, they all carry, some one thing,
" some another—I don't know what they are—
" I could look 'em up.

" *Judah's a lion's whelp—he stooped down, he*
" *couched as a lion, and as an old lion.*---You
" see, that means how Judah should be very
" great—you see, a lion's called the king of
" beasts—a lion—(I never saw a lion)—it's a
" great beast—I don't know in particular—I
" could look it up—great teeth!

" *Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea.*
" You see, Zebulun, he would be fond of *navi-*
" *gation.** The old man tell'd him he would---

* The word *navigation* is used in New England for *shipping*, and for *seafaring*.

" and he knew—God tell'd him every thing. You " see, different children take a different turn— " one likes one thing, and another likes another. " So, you see, the old man, he tell'd Zebulun " how he'd live near the sea—and how he'd have " a great many ships—and he tell'd no lies."

Coming at length to the close of the prophecies, the preacher dwelt a little upon the death and burial of the patriarch. The embalming, mentioned in the chapter that succeeds that from which he had taken his text, occupied him for a few minutes:—" Embalming—that is—you " see—they put—great many things—gums— " great many things—I don't know what they " are, just now—I could look 'em up.—

" So you see, God, he knows every thing— " he tell'd the old man every thing—there's " nothing but what God knows—he knowed " every thing about you, thousands of years " before you were born. He knows every thing— " he knowed all what you'd do—he knows all " what you are going to do—and all what you'll " ever do. He knowed every thing—he know- " ed what lots of land you'd buy, and where " you'd build your barns.—And now, my " friends, what a God this is! He knows " every thing. You may think that you can " deceive him—and hide from him—but you " can't deceive him—you can't hide any thing

" from him—He knows every thing—he can
" tell you every thing. So then, you see,
" there is no escaping from God! We must
" worship God—The only way to be happy is to
" worship God—only way, to worship God, and
" keep the sabbath—nothing else makes a man
" happy. I once knew a man—great man he was—
" great deal of land—but he had nothing to do
" with God—nothing to do with God—lived
" without God in the world—never minded the
" sabbath; no, not he!—Well, he had a son
" died—his only son—son grown up a man—
" large family—and when his son was dead,
" every body thought he'd take on—take on,
" so as nothing was like it.—But his son's death
" brought him to God—he grew *serious**—and
" when one of his friends asked him whether or no
" he was not unhappy about losing his son—
" he answered, that he never was so happy in all
" his life!—no, not in all his life!—and, says he,
" ' If I had twelve sons, and I was sure that every
" ' one's dying would make me as happy as
" ' my son's dying has made me now—I should
" ' wish 'em every one—every one of the twelve
" ' —to die!' "

After all, worse sermons are preached, by some that *have seen a president of a college.*

* *Serious* has the cant acceptation of *religious.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Connecticut—Stafford Springs—Pomfret.

THE Indians first made the settlers acquainted with the virtues of the chalybeate springs in Stafford, when, in the year 1719, this part of the country began to be settled. It had been their practice, time immemorial, to resort to them in the warm season of the year, and plant their wigwams round them. They recommended the water as an eye-water; but gave, as their own particular reason for drinking it, that it enlivened the spirits. In 1766, they were carefully examined by Dr. Warren, of Rhode Island, who then entertained a thought of purchasing the land on which they rise, with a view to establishing himself upon it. Subsequent events transformed the same physician into a soldier, and the doctor fell, with the rank of major-general, on Bunker's Hill. Dr. Willard, the present proprietor, has put Dr. Warren's plan into practice, by building a large house, for the reception of patients and others.

The mineral substances, held in solution in this water, are said to have been found by analysis to be carbonated iron and sulphat of

magnesia. The iron is in considerable proportion; but the carbonic acid is less remarkable in this than in several other springs. Some persons have said, and perhaps with good foundation, that the water resembles that of Tunbridge in England, but that it is stronger. Exposed to the action of the caustic fixed alkali, it throws down an ochrous precipitate. Prussiats of lime and potass communicate a discernible blue tinge; and muriat of barytes a very copious sediment. The water is said to have effected more than one extraordinary cure in dropsy, and is recommended in all the complaints for which chalybeates are usually resorted to. In the neighbourhood, the greater number of patients that it attracts appear to be such as labour under scrofulous diseases. That, of which I heard the name in every one's mouth, is the *salt rheum*.

The springs, and the hotel of which they are appurtenances, are both on the edge of a stage-road, called the upper road, between New York, Hartford and Boston; and to this circumstance they appear to be indebted for many of their wealthier visitors. Among those that resort to them solely for medical relief, the spirit, or perhaps the necessity of frugality, appears to lead to a serious error. They make but a very short stay, and hope, by excessive drinking at

the fountain, to render that stay equivalent to a very long one. They take their departure before they have drank the water long enough to justify them in drinking it freely; and hence there may be reason to fear, that they go away, not only not benefited, but really injured. There are bath-houses on the premises, in which are both warm and cold baths.

There were usually from twenty to thirty rustic inmates; and when the scene was not diversified by the arrival of cits, from Boston or elsewhere, the dinner-scene presented only the true rustic manners. All the women sat together, beginning at the lower end of the table; and all the men together, toward the upper; and the only communication between them resulted from the necessity under which the men appeared to labour to be helped by the women. Above all things, a man never seemed to think that he could make an incision in a pie-crust. I have seen one sit for half an hour with an empty plate, while there was a meat-pie before him, to which he neither helped himself, nor offered to help any one else. Being also the last in the line of males, he had a line of the younger females below him, all with empty plates, patiently waiting till the *gentlemen* were served; but this had no effect upon him; to make a breach in the pie-crust was impossible. Each individual, as soon as he had dined, carried his chair to the wall, and left the

room. The women, every one when she had dined, drew away their chairs to the windows. The servants of the house, in conformity with these manners, which are the manners of the country, carried away the table when they carried away the cloth, and drove away loiterers with an army of brooms.

The separation of the sexes prevails, in New England, through all the intercourse of society, even where the condition of life is many removes from the rustic. On that awful occasion, a *tea-party*, all the ladies occupy one side of the room, and all the gentlemen the other; and one consequence is, that the gentlemen talk politics, and the ladies listen in silence; for the ladies are rarely politicians: "In monarchies," says a French writer, "the women are every "thing; in republics, nothing."

As to a man's helping himself at table, the contrary is practised to a degree that offers to the mind of a stranger the most ludicrous picture of indolence; it is however, only, a picture of habit. The sturdiest and grimmest wayfarer, at the poorest inn, is in this particular waited upon like a bashaw, but always by a female hand; for, if there happens to be no female at his service, then, as the expression is, he may *wait upon himself*. If he asks for breakfast or *supper*, it is not sufficient to place all the long

list of requisite articles upon the table, but a female must attend him through his meal, to pour out his tea or coffee, and put milk and sugar into it. She must also cut him a piece of apple-pie, to eat after his tea—put it upon his plate—and, in short, do every thing—but eat it. A good woman, giving me an account of her having gone out one evening with her neighbours, observed, that "For her part, she had not had the smallest "idea of going, till the very moment before her "departure; but, her neighbours had come, "and she had before got the men their victuals, and the men said how she need not stay, "for they thought they could wait upon themselves."

The evenings, at the Springs, were generally spent, by the young women, in singing hymns, of which a favourite one was called the *Garden Hymn*, beginning with—

"The Lord is to his garden come," &c.

They sing hymns because they are more familiar with the words and tunes of these, than with those of songs; and because they are accustomed to sing them in parts. A clergyman happening to come among us, prayers, hymns and chapters in the bible were required before breakfast.

But, this society, as I have intimated, was sometimes thrown into contrast by the arrival of persons of another mould. One day, there came a lady, who, with her husband, was travelling to Hartford, her place of residence. She had an ease and polish of manners, such as might claim distinction, even in scenes where ease and polish are less uncommon. She staid but twenty-four hours. When she was gone, I was told, but perhaps erroneously, that she had been called the Beauty of Connecticut. Sickness had now taken in part the roses from her cheek.

It was here, by some Boston guests, that an account of His Majesty's frigate Leopard's attack on the United States' frigate Chesapeake first reached the part of the country in which I was. Nothing very distinct was to be learned upon the subject; but the Boston reporters of the story only made it an occasion to testify their confidence in the justice and even magnanimity of the British government; a sentiment that I had afterward the amplest occasion to hear more widely, though perhaps not more warmly expressed.

From Stafford Springs, I proposed passing to Providence and to Newport, and afterward to Boston. I took the road leading through Pomfret, and into the town of Gloucester, in the

territory of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, where I remained till the next morning. In Pomfret, there is a cotton-manufactory of some extent; and this branch of business is said to thrive in all the neighbouring territory which was now before me; and where there are said to be at least twenty manufactories. There is one in the western vicinity of Providence, and three at Patucket, in the east. In Smithfield, there are several, particularly one of three thousand spindles, and in which there is vested a capital of a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In all, the machinery is entirely moved by water. Cotton twist is already exported, particularly to Antwerp. The staple coming to the manufacturer free of any thing more than the coasting freight, he receives a virtual bounty of forty per centum; and in the case of a war with Great Britain, cotton would be made, as to a degree it already is, a succedaneum for wool. But it is coarse goods only that will be manufactured.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.